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SHAMANISM IN WESTERN NORTH AMERICA

A Study in Cultural Relationships

BY
WILLARD Z. PARK
NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

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Preface

The present study has developed from a dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Yale University. That manuscript has been extensively revised with the inclusion of new and valuable comparative data. Revision has led also to a reformulation of the significance of the distributional evidence for the basic problems involved in the inferential reconstruction of native history in western North America.

The descriptive data on shamanism presented here were collected in the course of three summers spent in making an ethnographic study of the Paviotso Indians in western Nevada. Work during the summer of 1933 was made possible through the generosity of Mr. H. U. Brandenstein of San Francisco. I am grateful to him for making it possible for me to gain my first experience in field work and for continued encouragement and interest. Investigations during the following two seasons were made under the auspices of the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University. The financial support which enabled me to add materially to my knowledge of Paviotso culture is deeply appreciated.

The gathering of the material and the preparation of this study have benefited from the suggestions and encouragement of my teachers and colleagues. Above all I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Edward Sapir and Dr. Leslie Spier, who, by their inspiration, encouragement, and helpful suggestions in the course of field work and in the preparation of the present study, contributed materially to my understanding of ethnological problems. Dr. Melville J. Herskovits's many valuable criticisms during the course of revision, and his unfailing encouragement to publish this venture in the field of anthropological theory are deeply appreciated. Dr. Robert H. Lowie was kind enough to read the manuscript and make suggestions for improvement.

Many people have generously contributed to make up the serious deficiencies in the published accounts of shamanism in western North America. I wish to extend my thanks here to all who so kindly placed unpublished field notes at my disposal. Specific acknowledgment is made where these important additions enter the discussion.

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Lastly, it is with pleasure that I acknowledge the extremely large obligation due my wife, Susan Park. Her advice, assistance, and encouragement both in the field and in the preparation and revision that culminated in the present study have been invaluable to me. Her unpublished field notes on the Atsugewi and Cahuilla have also filled in a number of gaps in the literature. In all, her contribution to the finished work has been great indeed.

The phonetic symbols used in the recording of Paviotso terms follow the simpler system of the *Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages* (Smithsonian Misc. Coll., 66, no. 6, 1916).

W. Z. P.

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I. The Problem

Introduction

For several decades the religions of the American Indian tribes [2] have provided data for the anthropologist bent on reconstructing the history and interrelationships of New World cultures. Notable studies in this field have displayed a wide variety of interests and aims, ranging from an intensive investigation of growth in a single tribal religion to an analysis of the interrelationships, practices, and beliefs on a continental scale. Still others have sought to reconstruct the growth, including relative chronological sequences, of ceremonies or entire religions in a more or less culturally homogeneous area. Whatever the specific goal and scope of these studies may be, it is either explicitly stated or implicitly recognized that the empirical data of geographical distribution, in the absence of more direct evidence such as documentary accounts of past events, afford an important body of knowledge for inferring the history of religions along with other cultural developments.

The distributional study of even simple generalized customs and beliefs yields evidence of the various interrelationships of cultures during their growth. Just as in the reconstruction of the history of more complex institutions, it is not necessary, and in fact it may be impossible, to determine the chronological sequence of accretion. Knowledge of the divergent sources and spatial relationships of several elements forming the complex does indicate, however, the interconnections among localized unique cultures. Without any attempt to postulate time-sequences, this may be considered a legitimate approach to the problems of culture history.

Shamanism in the New World presents an example of relatively simple and undifferentiated practices and beliefs which have wide but differing distributions. Moreover, the nearly universal occurrence in the Western Hemisphere of this type of religion suggests a respectable antiquity, at any rate, for some of the elements of the complex. Possibly, as Kroeber[1] suggests, shamanism may have been part of the cultural equipment of the first settlers in

[1] Kroeber, *Anthropology*, 349; *American Culture and the Northwest Coast*, 2.

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[2] the New World. This, however, does not argue that the simple elements forming the complex are identical throughout the Western Hemisphere. A merely superficial examination of North American shamanism reveals quite striking differences in content, in meaning, and in the way practices and beliefs are combined with other customs. Years ago, Dixon pointed out certain of these distinctions in the attitudes and customs of the New World shamans. The local variations evident in that brief survey include, among others, differences in means of acquiring supernatural power, the variety in the functions and the performances of the shamans, and their position and influence in society.[2] Important distinctions in practices clearly setting off one part of aboriginal California from another were recognized by Kroeber.[3] Again, Spier, in appraising recently the place of the Klamath in western North America, has precisely defined the distribution of certain of the elements in the shamanistic complex of this region.[4] It is evident that despite the possible considerable age and relative simplicity of shamanism in the New World, we are dealing with a locally varying amalgam of historically heterogeneous traits. Accordingly, a study of the practices and beliefs of a particular tribe in reference to their spatial setting should reveal at least some of the cultural relationships contributing to the development of the localized complex.

Scope of the Problem

The goal of the present study will be to ascertain those interrelationships of tribal cultures reflected in the geographical distributions of the elements found in a single localized shamanistic complex. The practices and beliefs of the shamans among the Paviotso or Northern Paiute of western Nevada will be considered in their distributional setting in order to indicate the cultural connections contributing to the growth of that complex.

In order to focus attention on the elements which are to be analyzed in their spatial relationships, an account of Paviotso practices and beliefs will first be presented. The distribution of

[2] Dixon, *Some Aspects of the American Shaman.*
[3] Kroeber, *The Religion of the Indians of California*, 327–334; *Handbook*, 851–855.
[4] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, 224 f.

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these elements will then be traced among the neighboring tribes of the Great Basin, the Plateau, California, and several of the so-called Western Rancheria[1] tribes of the non-pueblo Southwest. The data thus presented will suggest some of the cultural relationships among the several tribes of this region. In addition, this evidence should enable us to appraise certain of the tribal and regional differences and similarities with reference to several important historical problems in western North America. [2]

One of these more persistent questions in the cultural history of this region is that of the relationship of Great Basin cultures with those of the surrounding areas of central California, the Plateau, and the Plains. It is manifestly impossible to determine on the basis of only one phase of culture, such as shamanism, the interdependence or individuality of a group of cultures. Nevertheless, a precise statement of the Paviotso position, and so far as possible that of other Basin tribes, in shamanistic practices both in contrast and in relation to the neighboring areas will suggest more accurately than has been possible to date the extent of historical independence of and connection with the surrounding cultures.

It should be clearly understood that limiting the present study to a particular area of western North America carries no implication of historical autonomy for that region. Unquestionably, an appreciable number of the elements found in this area occur widely elsewhere in the New World and also in Asia. Thus the distribution of certain practices within this area will not exhaust all the possibilities of interrelationships. Although continental and intercontinental distributions yield evidence of suggestive historical connections, the growth of a local complex can be inferred from a detailed examination of more limited spatial interrelationships. In this study, therefore, I shall analyze the shamanistic phenomena of an arbitrarily delimited area, always recognizing

[1] This term is used by Spier to designate the group which "includes the tribes lying between the western Pueblos and the Colorado river, i.e., Navaho, Western Apache, Pima, Papago, Havasupai, Yavapai, Walapai, and others." *Problems Arising from the Cultural Position of the Havasupai*, 214.

Not all the tribes of this group will be considered in this study, for data on shamanism from some are extremely scanty, whereas with others, as in the case of the Navaho, the heavy overlay of Pueblo ceremonialism as yet obscures the precise extent of shamanism in the religious life.

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possibilities of intrusive influences from surrounding cultures.

The position of the present undertaking in relation to other distributional studies of shamanistic practices in western North America should be clarified. In assessing the position of the Klamath among the cultures of western North America, Spier has given by far the most thorough and exhaustive analysis of the geographical range of certain practices.[6] Although additional material available since the publication of *Klamath Ethnography* modifies few of Spier's conclusions, a re-examination of the data and the use of the new material should shed light on those cultural connections reflected in the growth of the Paviotso complex. Further, whatever unique features characterize the practices of these people, perhaps those of the Great Basin as a whole should emerge from the distributional data.

Some of the methodological difficulties besetting such an historical study as the present one should not pass unremarked. In the first place, it is generally recognized that the growth of culture through the processes of diffusion is not mechanical; that there are powerful, but often subtle, factors that determine the selection and modification of traits in the course of the development of a complex or of a total civilization. In the case of the shamanistic complex under consideration here, it can be shown that elements found among the Paviotso enter into different combinations and are variously interpreted in the religions of neighboring peoples. It follows, then, that the conditions under which transmission takes place and the cultural setting into which new elements are fitted are of the utmost importance in accurately reconstructing a detailed and fully satisfactory history of a tribal culture. But empirical knowledge of these factors in societies that have no means of recording in reasonably permanent form events which lead to change, can be derived, as Radin has demonstrated,[7] only from the study of the actual conditions under which each case of borrowing takes place. Radin is unquestionably right when he insists that documents recorded by actual participants in events yield valuable direct evidence of history, but it is imposing un-

[6] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, 339–279. I wish to acknowledge with gratitude my debt to this study. It will be evident in the following pages that I have drawn upon it heavily for suggestions and guidance in procedure and for material.

[7] Radin, *A Sketch of the Peyote Cult*, 1, 22; *Method and Theory of Ethnology*, 186–238.

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justifiable limits on historical reconstruction when evidence of only these recent events is admitted; that other cases of borrowing have not been recorded in such satisfactory detail does not argue that they should be ignored. Here the historian of culture is confronted with the need for sober analysis of the data of geographical distribution in order to derive the maximum of historical inference warranted by the information, avoiding pretentious claims for completeness and chronology. If we recognize, then, that reconstruction of the unverified events of the past in terms of generalized situations may often be misleading, it will be more realistic simply to regard diffusion here as an accomplished fact and to confine attention to the task of determining the cultural connections in the area under consideration without postulating unauthenticated conditions of diffusion and assimilation.

Naturally, this does not mean that all elements in the complex are to be weighted alike in such an historical reconstruction. It must be recognized that there are important differentials in the diffusion of separate elements as well as of systems of cultures, that one trait may spread rapidly over a wide area while another custom or practice, equally old, may be transmitted to only a limited number of cultures.[8] Thus it cannot be denied that the transmission of shamanistic practices in western North America has been facilitated in some cases and in others inhibited by numerous cultural and geographical factors.[9] It is no longer possible, however, to determine the precise circumstances which in one tribe facilitated the adoption of a new practice and in another culture caused its rejection. Certainly this consideration alone gives a dubious validity to any time-sequence inferred only from distributional evidence. In view of these limitations on the inferential reconstruction of history, therefore, the present study will be restricted to the determination of the interrelationships of the Paviotso with the surrounding cultures, so far as the evidence warrants. Nevertheless, the operation of certain factors favoring

[8] It is recognized that anthropologists are usually aware of these crucial points. In fact, the general formulations of the problems involved in culture-borrowing nearly always emphasize the factors controlling the spread of cultures and traits. Frequently, however, the same scholars neglect or ignore these powerful differentials in making specific historical reconstructions.

[9] Sapir has discussed a number of the conditions that are responsible for differences in rates of diffusion. *Time Perspective*, 30 f.

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121 or limiting the processes of borrowing cannot be ignored entirely,
177 for from the uniqueness of a complex which in terms of content can be duplicated in several neighboring tribes, it is evident that they have had an important rôle in the selection and interpretation of traits.

121 Still another problem involving these differentials in the rate of
171 diffusion is that of the weighting or determining of what may be called the historical value of cultural elements or complexes. It should be recognized that the distribution of one element or a particular cluster of beliefs and practices may indicate closer historical connection than can be inferred from the geographical range of another trait or complex. An example will clarify this point. Among a considerable number of tribes in western North America, shamanistic power is customarily secured by a deliberate quest. The frequently recurring association of several practices and beliefs in the "power quest" suggests a higher degree of relationship among the people following this practice than is indicated by the distribution of such a belief as that in which supernatural power is derived from animal spirits. Often, of course, the closer connection inferred on this basis may result from a more recent development and spread of the complex; but this chronological sequence cannot always be verified. On the other hand, in an appreciable number of other instances there is no justification at all for an assumption of time-relationships. It is evident, then, that although relatively complex traits or complexes often offer a basis for inferring close relationship among the cultures where they are found, such reconstructions do not depend alone on this factor, for apparently simple practices in some instances are likewise of considerable value in determining past cultural connections. Clearly, the historical value of culture traits rests upon the several factors that are responsible for differences in both the rate of diffusion and the conditions under which selection and assimilation take place. At present, criteria are not available for judging differentials in historical usefulness of the distributional data of institutions and customs. Possibly, exhaustive critical studies of many culture complexes under carefully analyzed conditions of transmission may illuminate this problem so vital to the inferential reconstruction of culture history. These consider-

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ations make it imperative, therefore, to recognize that at least a judicious weighting of distributional evidence is vitally important in making historical inferences, for the mechanical use of such data may lead to results which are quite as misleading as unsupported theorizing.

These tantalizing obstacles in the path of accurate and faithful history are often complicated by a meagerness of data at important points. At other times a decided unevenness of treatment, even where materials are reasonably full, seriously handicaps distributional studies. It must be evident that inferential reconstructions cannot be expected to fill many of the lacunae in our knowledge of the past. It is clear, then, that it is possible to define here only approximately those interrelationships of cultures in western North America suggested by the distributional evidence. The difficulties inherent in this study are, of course, those common to all attempts at reconstruction that follow this or similar procedures. They are still no less crucial in assessing the validity of the history which may be inferred from the evidence that is to be presented.

Still another limitation placed on the present study deserves a brief remark. Without doubt, such an analysis as is proposed here neglects many important problems involving the subjective side of religious experiences in these cultures. Unquestionably, shamanism offers a fascinating field for psychological investigation of culture and is, moreover, rich in possibilities for a fruitful examination of the interrelationships of personality and culture. It is not necessarily true that these problems have no place in an historical study, for many of the subjective attitudes and components of personality may eventually prove to be as much the product of cultural development as institutions and customs. At the present time, however, material is not available for a consideration of the historical movements in these subtler phases of cultures.

Finally, we must not ignore the importance that individuals may have played in the growth of the complex that is to be analyzed here. Radin has assigned to the North American shaman the task of systematizing and interpreting religious ideas,[10] but

[10] Radin, *Religion of North American Indians*, 269 f.

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121 it is not apparent that shamans everywhere in the New World
114 have performed this function to the same degree. Nevertheless, the changes in the shamanistic practices and beliefs have in each tribe resulted from the borrowing, the interpretations, and the inventions of novel ideas by individual shamans. A thorough study of borrowing processes must take into account such significant events and people. At the present time, however, knowledge of the contributions made by individual shamans to the totality of Paviotso practice is irretrievably lost to us. Therefore, although it is vitally important to bear in mind that these forces are ever present in making history, the limitations imposed on this study minimize the necessity for unverifiable assumptions of individuals, events, or chronology.

Definition of Shamanism

The great diversity of practices and beliefs presented by a survey of shamanism does not readily yield a clear definition of the term. In fact, shamanism usually has been defined descriptively, often in terms of the practices of a particular region. That this procedure is subject to error is evident when it is realized that in one society the shaman may have certain priestly functions, in another his duties relate only to curing. Laufer has shown that the word itself is an old term in the Turkish-Tungusian languages.[11] Frequently, we find that shamanism is defined largely by eastern Siberian practices. In clarifying the differences in current usage and in order to arrive at a definite formulation of the term for this study, it is interesting to review briefly several of the definitions prevailing in the literature.

Shamanism is defined by MacCulloch in terms of the functions of the shaman. According to this statement, the shaman is regarded as one who has undifferentiated priestly, prophetic, and magico-medical functions. Although it is recognized that the shaman exercises certain priestly functions, his main powers are connected with healing and divination. "He has direct intercourse with spirits and actual (bodily or spiritual) access to the spirit-world. All his magical arts are done by virtue of his power over

[11] Laufer, *Origin of the Word Shaman*, 361.

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or influence with spirits."[12] The shaman is accordingly distinguished by his active relations to the spirit world, not by his knowledge of esoteric doctrines and rituals.

Swanton distinguishes two classes of mediators between the world of spirits and the world of men, shamans, and priests. The shaman's authority is entirely dependent on individual ability. The priests are those who act "in some measure for the tribe or nation, or at least for some society."[13] This clean-cut differentiation of priests and shamans does not hold everywhere, for in some cultures, such as those of the Northwest coast, shamans exercise certain priestly functions, although in this respect they may be overshadowed by other officials, e.g., the chiefs who act as priests in the performances of the secret societies among the Tlingit, Haida, and Kwakiutl.

A similar distinction between shaman and priest has been made by Wissler. The priest is regarded as one who has knowledge of the rituals and leads ritualistic performances; his office is therefore primarily dependent upon learning, not upon direct personal experience with supernatural forces. The shaman, on the other hand, works by virtue of his possession of supernatural power. With this power he usually performs curative rites and acts as a prophet and seer.[14] This formulation likewise ignores the important points at which there is overlapping, for the appreciable body of knowledge gained by experience or apprenticeship is often an important part of the equipment distinguishing the shaman from his fellowmen.

One point is held in common by all these definitions: the shaman in all cases is one who has direct relationships with spirit powers in contrast to the priest who fills his office largely by virtue of his knowledge of rituals. Among some peoples, however, there is a certain overlapping of the functions belonging to the two offices. Some writers tend to regard as shamans all who experience personal contact with supernatural powers. A characteristic definition of this type is that given by Dixon, who applied the term "to that motley class of persons found in every savage community, who

[12] MacCulloch, in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XI, 441–442.
[13] Swanton, article "Shamans and Priests" in *Handbook of American Indians*, Vol. II, 522–524.
[14] Wissler, *The American Indian*, 197, 200–201.

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121 are supposed to have closer relations with the supernatural than
114 other men, and who, according as they use the advantage of their position in one way or another, are the progenitors alike of the physician and the sorcerer, the prophet, the teacher, and the priest."[15]

The possession of power alone, however, does not necessarily distinguish the shaman from other men. In some tribes, almost everyone has visionary experiences in which some power to control supernatural forces is acquired. Under these conditions, the shaman may be regarded as one upon whom more than the usual amount of power is bestowed, and is so differentiated in native thought. Usually, the recipient of the power employs it for desirable social purposes, such as the curing of disease or the charming of game. Here shamanism is but a matter of degree; the shaman has the stronger power which enables him to perform certain functions in contrast to weaker powers of the laity. Moreover, the use of power for the good of others differentiates the shaman from the man who manipulates supernatural spirits for selfish ends. Of course this is an arbitrary distinction, for it is often difficult to distinguish between social and purely selfish interests.

For the purposes of this study, the shaman is one who acquires supernatural power through direct personal experience. This power is generally manipulated in such a way as to be a matter of concern to others in the society. Accordingly, the practice of witchcraft may be as important a part of shamanism as the curing of disease or the charming of game in a communal hunt. We will designate by the term shamanism, then, all the practices by which supernatural power may be acquired by mortals, the exercise of that power either for good or evil, and all the concepts and beliefs associated with these practices.

[15] Dixon, *Some Aspects of the American Shaman*, 1.

II. Paviotso Shamanism

Introduction

The material on Paviotso shamanism presented in this section was collected in the course of ethnographic field investigations carried on by the writer over a period of three summers.[1] Before the coming of the whites, the Paviotso roamed over the semi-arid country of western Nevada and Honey Lake Valley in California. In the winter and spring they lived on the shores of the lakes of this region—Pyramid, Humboldt, Carson and Walker Lakes of Nevada, and Honey Lake in California. Probably at no time did the population exceed three thousand. At the present time there are nearly a thousand full-blooded and half-breed Paviotso living on the Pyramid Lake, Walker River, and Fallon reservations and in the small colonies at the Nevada towns of Reno, Yerington, and Lovelock.

The Paviotso or Northern Paiute living largely in western Nevada, belong to the Mono-Paviotso branch of Shoshonean-speaking peoples. Although dialectically and geographically very close to the Paiute of Surprise and Owens valleys, the Nevada bands form an ethnic unit quite distinct from their linguistic relatives in California.[2]

Under aboriginal conditions, the Paviotso were on friendly and intimate terms with the Northern Paiute of Surprise and Owens valleys in California, to whose language their own is closely related. The Washo, living immediately to the west, were peaceful but not friendly. Contacts with these people were infrequent. Constant warfare was carried on with the Pit River Indians of California, who were their traditional enemies. The northeastern Maidu were also unfriendly and often came into conflict with the Paviotso. Other people in northeastern California and southern

[1] A preliminary account based on the first summer's field work was published in 1934 (see Park, *Paviotso Shamanism*). Material obtained on subsequent trips added considerable data, modified some, and corroborated other aspects of the earlier statement. The present account of Paviotso practices, although offered as a more accurate picture, is but a summary. It is hoped that it will be possible in the near future to publish the detailed material as a part of a rounded account of Paviotso culture. This chapter can thus be regarded essentially as a skeletonized version of Paviotso practice and belief.

[2] Kelly, *Surprise Valley Paiute*, 70–73; Steward, *Owens Valley Paiute*, 235–237.

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Oregon were known to the Nevada Paviotso only through their Surprise Valley friends. To the east, the Paviotso had contacts solely with their immediate neighbors, the Western Shoshoni. Their relations with these people, however, were never so intimate and friendly as with the Northern Paiute of California. The Paviotso claim that the Bannock once were associated with them, but that these people moved east in search of the buffalo. It is doubtful whether the Paviotso and Bannock were in communication with each other in the period immediately preceding white occupation. The Southern Paiute, the Ute groups, and other Shoshonean peoples of the Basin were not known to the Paviotso.

The Paviotso have a culture which is usually regarded as Great Basin, but our present knowledge of this region is far too scanty to enable us to state just how typical of Basin culture are Paviotso customs. In their economic life, the wild products afforded by the habitat are utilized. Hunting, fishing, and gathering wild seeds and roots provide the food supply. Houses are simple but well-constructed, mat-covered and dome-shaped. Before the recent introduction of the Plains type of garments, clothing was negligible—a breechclout for men, a single apron in front or a double one front and back for the women, supplemented in the case of both sexes by woven skin robes and moccasins.

The social, political, and religious phases of Paviotso culture are likewise simple. The family is the basic unit in the social, as well as the economic, life. The five Paviotso bands are loose, localized, named groups with head-men or chiefs who have only advisory functions. Ceremonial performances are meager and mostly confined to shamanistic curing.

A great deal of the Paviotso culture has disappeared under reservation conditions. This is particularly true of economic life and material culture. Nevertheless, many social customs and religious beliefs and practices persist. Shamans are still common, and curing performances are frequent. Consequently, it has been possible to obtain accounts of a living religion from both shamans and laymen.

A brief statement on the sources of the material presented here may give some notion both of the value of these data as a basis for an accurate picture of the Paviotso complex and of their use-

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fulness for comparative purposes. Three shamans, Dick Mahwee and Joe Green at Pyramid Lake, and Rosie Plummer at Schurz on the Walker River reservation, were very willing and intelligent informants. Joe Green spoke English sufficiently well so that an interpreter was not required. An interpreter was necessary in working with both Dick Mahwee and Rosie Plummer. However, Dick Mahwee had spent several months in 1914 at the University of California Museum of Anthropology at San Francisco, acting as an informant in linguistic studies. This was a number of years before he became a shaman. As a result of his experience in San Francisco, he was well aware of, and sympathetic toward, the aims of ethnographic investigation. He had acquired also a limited knowledge of English which enabled him to check the translations of the interpreter. Frequently he stopped the interpreter in his English renditions and insisted on a re-phrasing or a correction of a misstatement. This, coupled with a very sincere desire for accuracy, gives to the material recorded from Dick Mahwee a high degree of creditability.

Daisy Lopez, who acted as the interpreter for Rosie Plummer, was very intelligent and sympathetic. She had an unusually good command of English, in addition to a far better knowledge of the Paviotso language than is usual among the younger generation. The usefulness of Daisy Lopez was not, however, confined to interpreting. As she was the daughter of Rosie Plummer and had been constantly with her mother, except for a few years spent at school, she was well informed on much of the aboriginal culture.

As has been noted, Joe Green did not require an interpreter. He at one time acquired power, but through a misadventure described below had lost it. Joe was one of the most intelligent and conscientious of all the informants and he took an unusually active interest in the work of recording cultural data. Well liked and respected by his fellow tribesmen, he was able to obtain the help of others when information of which he was unsure was requested of him. This service was of considerable value, as many of the older people disliked talking to strangers. Joe Green thus made it possible to tap a number of rich sources of material which would have otherwise remained unexploited.

Important as shamans were in giving information, they did not

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provide all the data on this phase of the culture. Full accounts of shamanistic beliefs and practices were recorded from six well-informed laymen, about half of whom spoke English, the others requiring interpreters. Finally, many of the statements made by both shamans and non-shamans were checked with some fourteen or fifteen additional informants from whom only fragmentary material on shamanism could be obtained.

Before the intrusion of the whites, the Paviotso of western Nevada lived in five named, loosely organized, localized bands. The geographical centers for these semi-nomadic groups were the five lakes of the region: Pyramid, Walker, Humboldt, and Carson Lakes in western Nevada, and Honey Lake a few miles west of the Nevada-California state line. Data on all aspects of the culture were recorded from informants belonging to each of these localized groups. A careful scrutiny of this material, both that on shamanism and on the other phases of the culture, shows no significant cultural differences among the bands. Differences that appear in the accounts—and this is particularly true of the data on shamanism—seem to be the result of individual interpretation rather than cultural distinctions among local groups. In short, the loose localized bands of the Paviotso prove on investigation not to be separate cultural units. Therefore the Paviotso embracing these five so-called bands will be treated here as an ethnic unit.

The most important aspect of the religious life of the Paviotso is shamanism. There are other religious beliefs and observances also, as for example praying to the sun for success in the hunt, for relief from pain, for protection against the evil consequences of dreams, or for well-being, belief in the efficacy of charms, and the slightly religious tinge of the round dances. But all of these play a minor rôle in the religion of the Paviotso compared to shamanistic beliefs and practices.

The world in which the Paviotso live is full of animate beings unseen in a workaday experience. The spirits of animals, birds, and insects, spirits that live in certain caves in the mountains, water-babies that live in water-holes and in the lakes, the spirits of the wind, clouds and thunder, all can talk to man and assist him in his struggle to gain a living, to preserve health, and to cure sickness.

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It is in respect to the last activity that the shaman is an outstandingly important member of Paviotso society. Although a man can acquire supernatural power which will enable him to be a successful hunter or a lucky gambler, these ends may be accomplished more simply by praying to the sun, or before the hunt by dreaming where game is to be found, or by use of charms. The shaman may also have the power to control weather, but this is not usually exercised for the good of the community. Rather, his demonstration of control over the elements seems to prove the shaman's *rapport* with powerful spirits, which give him power to cure the sick and heal the wounded. It is, then, the supernatural inspiration and assistance which enable one either to draw out the cause of illness or to go in search of the lost soul of a patient that is pre-eminent in the Paviotso mind as giving meaning and importance to the acquisition and exercise of shamanistic power. It should be noted that a shaman who has power to doctor the sick is called puhágɔm. This term is not used to designate people who possess supernatural powers for hunting, gambling, or warfare. There is no term for such power or for the people who enjoy it. However, supernatural aid in these latter functions is of the same sort and from the same source—spirits of animals, birds, etc.—as that acquired by a shaman. All supernatural power is, in theory, of the same order, but it is the possession of strong power to be exercised in the function of curing that is important in Paviotso ideology. The other objectives can be, and in fact most frequently are, accomplished satisfactorily, without spirit aid. Only curing depends directly upon power.

Source of Shamanistic Power

The spirit beings which are everywhere in the Paviotso world are the sources of supernatural power. Spirits of the fauna, spirits from certain mountains and of rocks, as well as the elements, bestow on individuals the power (puhá) through which sickness is controlled and cured. In addition to securing power from these spirits, shamans also derive supernatural aid from ghosts of the dead (sa'ab") and from the dwarf-like creatures called water-babies that live in certain water-holes, lakes, and water-serpents thought to inhabit the lakes.

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Indians were put here on this earth with trees, plants, animals, and water, and the shaman gets his power from them. One shaman might get his power from the hawk that lives in the mountains. Another may get his power from the eagle, the otter, or the bear. A long time ago, all the animals were Indians (they could talk). I think that is why the animals help the people to be shamans. Some strong shamans get their powers from the sun. (Joe Green)

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Anyone can get to be a shaman by dreaming. In the dreams, spirits such as those from the eagle, bear, owl, snake, antelope, deer, mountain sheep, mole, or falling star appear. The spirit that comes in the dreams is the shaman's power. It helps him to doctor sick people. (Harry Sampson)

It is not altogether clear whether the animal spirits are conceived to be those of the species or of a single animal. One statement would seem to indicate that it is a spirit of the species that confers power.

When a shaman gets his power from the otter it means that the spirit is from many otters. The chief otter spirit tells the man to be a good doctor. It is this main otter that cannot be seen by the common people. He is the one that makes a man a shaman. He lives in a certain place in the water. Only the shaman can see him there. He knows where the otter is. He dreams about the otter and after a while he learns where the otter lives. (Joe Green)

This point was not carefully checked with other informants, but it would seem that the above statement formulates fairly accurately the norm of Paviotso belief in the animal and bird spirits that bestow shamanistic powers.

Several informants described the water-babies that are also believed to be a source of supernatural power.

Some shamans get their power from the water-babies. They are the only people who can talk to them. They tell the rest of the people not to make fun of water-babies. These shamans can take the water-babies out of the lake.

The water-babies came to life by their own power. They formed themselves. Some water-babies live in water-holes, and these holes never dry up. People call these water-babies the "breath of the water-holes." There is a cool breeze all the time in the mountains where they live. They have the power to cause wind to blow, even a very strong wind. The wind is their breath.

There are also women in the lakes where the water-babies live. These women are like the water-babies. They have the same power. Big ser-

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pents live in the lake, too. Like the water-babies, these serpents have strong power. They give power to some shamans. (Rosie Plummer) 756 776

A somewhat different statement of the source of shamanistic power, probably due to individual interpretation, was given by Dick Mahwee.

> The Indian doctor gets his power from the spirit of the night. This spirit is everywhere. It has no name. There is no word for it. The Indians hold this spirit so sacred that they are afraid if they had a name for it the spirit would be angry. No one has ever dared give it a name.
>
> Eagle and owl do not give a shaman power.[1] They are just messengers that bring instructions from the spirit of the night. Some doctors have water-babies for their messengers. They are called when the shaman doctors. They do not give him his power; they only carry messages from the spirit of the night. When the shaman is treating a patient he calls for the water-babies and they bring him instructions from the spirit.
>
> At the time that the spirit of the night gives power for doctoring, it tells the shaman to ask for help from the water-babies, eagle, owl, deer, antelope, bear or some other bird or animal.
>
> When shamans get power it always comes from the night. They are told to doctor only at night. This power has nothing to do with the moon or stars. I knew one woman who used the sun, moon, and stars for her power. I saw her fill her pipe and just as the sun came up she puffed and started to smoke. I saw her do this several times. I watched her closely but she did not use matches. Her power lighted her pipe. [821]

A similar formulation of the spirit of the night as the source of power was made by Joe Green, also at Pyramid Lake.

> There are two nights. The second one comes behind the night that everybody sees. This second night is under the darkness. It tells the shaman where the pain is and what caused the sickness. When the second night comes it makes the shaman feel that he is a doctor. The power is in him to doctor. Only shamans can see this second night. The people can only see the darkness. They cannot see the night under it.

In other statements, Joe Green insisted that power came from the spirits of animals; and, as has been noted, his own power came from the otter. This view of the source of supernatural aid was

[1] Other informants at Pyramid Lake claimed that Dick Mahwee received his powers from the ghost of a Pit River Indian, eagle, and crow. (See list of shamans and their powers given below.)

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not held by lay informants at Pyramid Lake nor was it recognized by members of any of the other Paviotso groups.

As has been suggested, personal interpretation may explain this deviant concept of supernatural power. It is clear that the views quoted harmonize at least in part with the basic pattern of individualized animal and other spirits giving supernatural aid, for here in one case we find these spirits acting as messengers; they are in immediate contact with the shamans, and in the other case power from animal and other spirits is specifically mentioned.

Spirits, then, are the sources of shamanistic powers. In theory, the number of these spirits or supernatural beings is unlimited. A list of shamans and their powers was compiled in the field and checked with several informants. Although there were discrepancies in the powers ascribed to some shamans—nor is it a complete list of present-day shamans—it will illustrate the actual sources of the powers of shamans living today.

Shaman	*Source of Power*
Dick Mahwee	Eagle, crow, and the ghost of a Pit River Indian.
Abraham Mahwee	A large spotted bird which lives on the lake (unidentified), and the ghosts of three Indians, the kind of people who live far away where nobody can see them.
George Calico	Lizard and two water-babies that live in the lake.
Frank Northop	The ghost of a Pit River Indian and horse.
Judy David	Eagle.
Jack Warwick	Two horses and the ghost of a man, the same kind of power that Abraham Mahwee has (see above).
Johnny Calico	Eagle and an unidentified bird.
Pete Toby	Horse and a horse-hair rope.
Eugene Frazier	Eagle and crow.
Hattie Whitehead	Water-babies and otter.
Mary Garvey	Crow and the big mountain fly.
Julia Robinson	Eagle.
Johnny Newman	Water-babies.
Blind Bob	Claims to have power from the magpie, but has never doctored.
Paiute Harrison	Antelope and eagle.
Mary Harrison	Eagle.
Jackson Overton	Bear.
Joe Green	Otter.
Tom Mitchell[4]	Eagle, weasel, small unidentified bird living in the mountains, and another spirit unknown to the informants.
Rosie Plummer	Rattlesnake.

[4] This man is acknowledged as the most powerful shaman in recent years.

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It appears that the spirit of the coyote was never a source of power, although Coyote is the most prominent character in Paviotso tales. 756 776 825 [773]

> Shamans never got power from Coyote. According to the old stories the Indians tell, Coyote always spoils everything. Coyote is bad. Sometimes he tries to get the soul of someone. He says, "I am going to get you and when you die, I will eat you." The coyote cannot be heard to say this, but when he has said it, it makes the victim sick. (Joe Green)
>
> Shamans do not get power from Coyote. Coyote causes sickness. Dogs are almost like Coyote. When a shaman doctors, dogs are kept away, otherwise he would not be successful in curing the sickness. (Rosie Plummer)

Fear of the wrath of water-babies and water-serpents noted in accounts above is not held for other spirits, save those of the elements, particularly the thunder. There seems to be no danger in ridiculing or showing lack of respect for the spirits of the animals and birds. 756 776

> The Indian doctors know the wind, clouds, and rain. A shaman talks to them. They are just like people, and they come. Anyone who makes fun of the thunder will be killed. One time a man at Schurz heard the thunder, and said, "That is nothing. I am going to fight that thunder." He went outside the house, and the thunder was heard overhead. He was hit by lightning and killed. (Tom Mitchell) 756 776 821

There is only one shaman who is reported to have had power from such a source. Wovoka, the prophet of the 1890 Ghost Dance, is said to have had power from two clouds.

> One was a straight high cloud. This was for snow. The other cloud was dark and close to the ground. It was for rain. Wovoka could see a man's arm sticking out of the white cloud. One time the arm would be pointing north. Another time it would be pointing south, east, or west. (Joe Green)

This statement could not be verified, but there is evidence that the leader of the 1890 Ghost Dance movement had power from several sources, including the wolf.

Another aspect of the supernatural spirits which are the source of shamanistic power is their invisibility to all but the shamans. Only the shaman can see the spirit or spirits from which he derives his power. Even when he invokes his supernatural aids at a doctoring, they are visible to him alone. Their presence is known to the others only through the shaman's account of his conversa- 756 776

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776 tion with them. Supernatural spirits never appear to, nor are they ever heard by, anyone but those upon whom they bestow power.

Acquiring Shamanistic Power

756 Both men and women acquire and exercise shamanistic power. A shaman of either sex is a puhágam. The power possessed by either a man or a woman is likewise known by a single term, puhá. The ratio of male to female shamans, as well as the proportion of practitioners to the total population, no doubt varied considerably from generation to generation. There are at present at Pyramid Lake, in a total population of nearly five hundred, eight shamans. Three of these are women. On the Walker River Reservation, where the population is about the same, there are seven shamans, five of them women, one of whom is a Shoshoni. In past generations, female shamans do not seem to have ever outnumbered the men.

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562 In an attempt to arrive at some idea of the total number of shamans and the ratio of men to women practitioners, I asked informants to name all who could be remembered as possessing power for curing purposes. The results at best are only approximate, but some conception of the frequency with which men and women become shamans is suggested. At Walker River several people, after a lengthy discussion among themselves, were able to name twenty shamans who were living about 1900. Of these, five were women. Three of the men were said to have been much more powerful shamans than the others. No doubt the population was somewhat greater at that time than at present, but figures are not available. Joe Green was able to name nineteen shamans living at Pyramid Lake about forty years ago. Of this number, two were women. At that time the population on this reservation was nearly seven hundred.

All informants were certain that in former years the number of shamans was considerably greater than it is today. Consequently, these estimates may serve only as a clue to the proportion of shamans, perhaps in the order of twenty to seven hundred people, at the same time giving a rough idea of how many of the shamans were women. Obviously, these ratios must have shifted from decade to decade.

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In theory, female shamans may become as powerful as the male doctors. In practice, however, it appears that all the outstanding practitioners are, and have been, men. On the other hand, female shamans are highly respected and are on an equal footing with their male colleagues; some may even have stronger powers than the less prominent male shamans. Moreover, according to several informants, women can acquire powers which are used, as with men, for purposes other than curing.

> Women who have power are as strong as men shamans. One time there was a woman who had a power that protected her against bullets. When the Indians were fighting the soldiers, she rode out in front of them to attract their attention while the women and children got away. The soldiers shot at her but their bullets did not hurt her. She had the same power as men shamans. (Joe Green)

Apparently berdaches never became shamans. The several transvestites who are remembered by people living today were certainly not shamans. Lowie recorded only one case of sex-reversal among the Pyramid Lake Paviotso. This occurred some twenty years before his visit, and apparently shamanistic powers were not ascribed to the individual.[5] Sarah Winnemucca mentions the case of one cowardly warrior who was forced to don women's clothing and perform tasks allotted to that sex, but there is no reference to the possession of power.[6] This as well as the evidence in my own notes suggests that berdaches were of relatively infrequent occurrence and of slight importance. Certainly, they became shamans rarely, if ever, and clearly never as the result of their condition.

Acquiring shamanistic power, and later the exercise of power, is an individual affair. This is true both for the power derived from unsolicited dreams and from the voluntary quest. Power is never acquired by people in groups or at public performances, but is the result of private personal experiences.

The acquisition of power involves more than the development of a personal relationship with a particular spirit. When shamanistic power is conferred, the candidate not only secures a spirit helper but also acquires those special abilities or capacities neces-

[5] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 283.
[6] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 70.

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sary for coping with sickness; these in turn impose responsibilities and potential danger. Consequently, the possession of supernatural power signifies to the Paviotso more than is suggested by the term "guardian spirit."[1]

The central idea in the acquisition of supernatural power is dream experience. Often these dreams come unsolicited to a prospective shaman. In addition to these involuntary experiences, dreams may be deliberately sought in a number of places in the mountains. Supernatural power may also be inherited, but it is in dreams that the power is actually bestowed on the heir. It is, then, through the experiences in dreams, which may either be sought or may be spontaneous, that a shaman characteristically acquires his power. One shaman may say that power came to him unasked, another may claim to have inherited his power, and a third relates that he acquired power in a certain cave in the mountains. Still, each gained a supernatural spirit as a familiar and as a powerful ally in certain undertakings, also an exacting and cruel taskmaster, through the same medium. In short, all shamans gain power from a fundamentally similar experience, differing only in the way in which it is initiated.

Supernatural power is usually acquired after maturity. Children were known to have had shamanistic power, however, and even to have doctored the sick. One such case was reported at Pyramid Lake.

> I have seen boys who were about twenty or twenty-five get power and start doctoring, but a young doctor is not powerful. When a shaman gets to be sixty or seventy he knows everything. Then he is a very strong doctor. (Joe Green)

Life crises, such as puberty or the period of mourning for husband, wife or child, are not recognized as times when shamanistic power is to be acquired or lost. Those who seek dream-experiences in caves are always adults. Statements of informants indicate that

[1] Throughout this discussion, the term "power" will be used to designate not only those spirits which give supernatural aid to the shaman, but also the special restrictions and responsibilities placed on recipients of supernatural visitations. It is felt that the term "guardian spirit" implies a somewhat different relationship between an individual and his supernatural familiar. See, for example, Ruth Benedict's *The Vision in Plains Culture*, 13 f., for a statement of the relation that exists in the western Plains between an individual and the spirit that has blest him, also the same author's *The Guardian Spirit in North America*.

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power may come at any time during life at the volition of the spirits or powers. 756

Power that comes unsolicited makes itself known through repeated dreams. The spirit which is the source of power appears repeatedly in these dreams to instruct the dreamer. 756 787 776

> A man dreams that a spirit of deer, eagle, or bear comes to him. The spirit tells him that he is to be a doctor. When a man first dreams this way he does not believe it. Then the dream comes again. He dreams this way for a long time. The spirit tells him to collect eagle feathers, wild tobacco, a stone pipe, a rattle, and other things. When he gets these things he becomes a doctor. He learns his songs when the spirit comes and sings to him. (Nick Downington)

The dreams, both in form and in content, conform to no rigidly fixed pattern. One person may see an animal or a ghost in his dreams; another may only hear the voice of the spirit which gives him his power. There seems, however, to be an emphasis on auditory experiences in dreams. Usually in the first dream, the prospective shaman only hears the spirit singing and talking. In later dreams the spirit is seen. This is not always the case, for some shamans had visual evidence of the presence of supernatural powers in their first, as well as in later, dream-experiences.

The instructions given the novice shaman in dreams are also varied. One may be told to follow certain rules in eating or in other daily habits; for another the details will be quite different. As was mentioned in the statements above, the dreamer is told also to collect certain objects to be used in doctoring. There is, then, a certain generalized type of dream through which power is acquired. Within this framework, the dreams of individuals are quite varied. Differences in instructions received by shamans in dreams are often given as the explanation of the variety of ways in which shamans doctor or perform their other functions. Several informants stated that no two shamans have precisely the same dreams. Consequently, there are numerous differences in detail in carrying out shamanistic practices. These differences are never ascribed to individual interpretation, but are attributed to the whims of shamans' spirits reflected in the instructions received from the supernatural helpers in dreams or at the curing performance. Moreover, individuals vary in the number of dreams that 787 756

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787 are had before shamanistic practice is undertaken. One man may
756 dream of a spirit only a few times; then, recognizing the meaning of his experience, he will feel fully qualified to take up doctoring. Another novice shaman may dream repeatedly for a year or more before he enters upon his profession. No doubt the degree of suggestibility of various individuals is an important factor in determining the frequency of dreams. The desire of one person to become a shaman may lead to the interpretation that certain dreams have conferred power, whereas another may refuse out of fear to undertake shamanistic practice. If a person dreams of being a shaman only once, or even several times, it is not thought that he must obey the call.

It should be noted that relatively few complete dream-experiences were recorded. This is in part due to the feeling that the actual content of the dream itself was of no importance. The instructions that the dreamer received were all that mattered. Consequently, though few people related dreams in any detail, the knowledge and the instructions gained through such experiences were carefully reported by informants. There was no reluctance on the part of either shamans or laymen in discussing dream-experiences; all talked freely on this subject.

756 An account of the dreams by which power was given to one sha-
787 man will serve to illustrate the characteristic features of this sort
159 of experience.

> I was getting to be a doctor. My father was a doctor, and I got to be one just the same as he. In my dream, I heard a song. It was coming from the north. It was coming just a few feet above the ground. I heard that song. I heard it just one night. The song came all night. That was all I heard the first night.
>
> In dreams after that I saw a horse coming from the east. When I first heard him, he was on the other side of the mountain. Then I saw him come over the ridge. He came toward me and when he got close, he made a big circle around me. Then he went back. That horse had nothing to do with my power.
>
> My father used to doctor. He had power from the otter. I had the same power. After I dreamed about the horse, the otter came to me in my dreams. He told me to get his skin and to cut it into a strip about four inches wide down the length of the back from the head to the top of the tail and including the eyes and ears. Then he told me to get two eagle tail-feathers and put them in two holes in the skin at the neck and

to tie them inside with buckskin. The feathers lay flat on the fur side of the skin. The otter told me to keep the skin and the eagle-feathers. He told me to use the skin and feathers when sickness is bad and hard to cure. He said, "When there is very bad sickness and no doctor can cure it, take the skin out of your sack and put it in front of you. Then you are going to try to cure." I was ready to doctor then. When I doctored, the otter gave me my songs.

This account then goes on to relate how a mistake was made in the care of the paraphernalia and, as a result, the informant lost his power. This illustrates the belief that if the exact details of the instructions given by the supernatural spirit are not followed, the offending shaman will suffer illness and loss of power.

After I got my power, I tried doctoring a few times. Then one night the otter came to me again in a dream. He told me that I should get another tail-feather of the eagle. He said, "Take a round piece of abalone shell about the size of a quarter and fasten it to the feather." It was then that I spoiled my power. I had been thinking for some time that the otter-skin was too long. It was about four feet from the head to the tip of the tail. So I cut the head off. After I had done this I got sick. The last time I dreamed about the otter was when I was sick. I felt dizzy. I did not feel very good. I saw the otter jump into the upper end of Pyramid Lake. Then I saw him running on the desert. That was the last time I saw the otter. I had to call in a powerful shaman [Tom Mitchell] to cure me. He came and doctored me. He said to me, "I found out that you cut off the otter's head. That is what made you sick. When you did that the otter went away. You will never see him again. You cut the head off and now you are just like the otter. He does not know anything, and you are the same way." I never dreamed again of the otter when I got well. If I had not cut that piece from the skin I would now be a doctor. (Joe Green)

Very often dream-experience, if not understood, will result in sickness. In this event it may be necessary to have a shaman interpret dreams and restore the dreamer to health.

A man has the same dream a number of times. Then he knows the power to be a shaman is in him. Sometimes it makes him very sick. He must do what the power tells him. One man, who is still living here [Reno], was sick about a year. He almost died. When he was sick he went into trances and his body was stiff as a board. He dreamed that he went to the land of the dead. He dreamed that way all the time when he was sick. He said that ghosts of dead people came and tried to steal his soul. His father was a shaman. The man almost died, but his father finally cured him. (Harry Sampson)

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The first few dreams in which supernatural spirits appear can be safely disregarded. But shortly, if the instructions received in the dream are not followed, it is necessary to call a shaman to doctor the patient. In the course of curing, the shaman tells the patient to do as he had been told in his dreams. Then, if the summons is obeyed, recovery is assured. Usually a person is reluctant to become a shaman, and assumes his powers and follows the spirit's bidding only when he is told by other shamans that otherwise death will result. Likewise throughout the rest of the shaman's life he must follow carefully all the instructions given him by his supernatural power. If any part of shamanistic paraphernalia which has been collected at the behest of the shaman's spirit is lost or destroyed, the shaman not only loses his power, but, as has been noted, sickness also results. Death may also follow any other very serious breaches of the injunctions placed on the shaman by the spirits.

In addition to those who receive shamanistic power from involuntary dreams, there are individuals whose desire for power is sufficiently strong to cause them to undertake a voluntary quest. There are certain places, such as caves in the mountains, where power can be acquired.[8] Eight or ten such places are known today, and perhaps formerly there were still others which are now forgotten.

In some of these places, only power for certain undertakings can be sought; in others several kinds of spirit aid can be gained. The tests that are imposed upon the seeker differ also according to the place where the power is sought.

> Power is sought on a mountain near Wabusca. This power protects a man against bullets. It makes him a great warrior. When a man gets power at this place he must run down the side of the mountain without breathing. If he does not do this the power will not help him. This place is not like the other places where power is acquired. Here the noises of all the animals are not heard the way they are in the caves. Only power to be a warrior comes from this mountain. This place is called tágwan[1]. A long time ago men got power there. No one goes there nowadays.
>
> There is another place near Fallon where power is sought. The power

[8] Lowie recorded that, "... in the Walker River district there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision." *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294.

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to be a doctor can be acquired on this mountain. Big rocks roll down when a person goes there to seek power. If one steps out of the way of these rolling rocks, the power will not come. The rocks come within a couple of feet of the person who is seeking power and then disappear. That is the way the spirits test people who go there to get power. The mountain is called wayikudagwa'. (Rosie Plummer)

There are no preparations for the power-quest. The man who seeks a vision does not fast either before he undertakes the quest or during his stay in the cave. Nor is the quest for power accompanied by self-torture or extended physical exertion.

Late in the afternoon, the man who seeks power goes to a cave where, he has heard, it is possible to acquire power. Food for a midnight and a morning meal may be taken along. Upon entering the cave, the aspirant for supernatural power asks for the particular kind of power that he desires. He then makes simple preparations for spending the night there. Power comes simply as a result of the aspirant's request and his concentration on the desire for power. One of the informants, Dick Mahwee, who sought and received his power in a cave, gave an account of his experiences.[9] His version will serve as a fairly representative statement of this manner of acquiring power.

When I was a young man I had dreams in which I doctored people. I did not take those dreams seriously. My uncle was an Indian doctor. He knew what was coming to me. He told me to be careful in talking, not to speak harshly [in order not to offend the supernatural spirits]. I did not become a doctor from these dreams. Finally, I decided to go to the cave near Dayton. I was about fifty then. My uncle did not tell me to go there. I just decided to do this myself.

I went into the cave in the evening. As soon as I got inside, I prayed and asked for power to doctor sickness. I said, "My people are sick. I want to save them. I want to keep them well. You can help me make them well. I want you to help me to save them. When they have died give me power to bring them back [return the lost soul]." I said this to the spirit in the cave. It is not a person. It comes along with the darkness. This is a prayer to the night.

Then I tried to go to sleep. It was hard to sleep there. I heard all kinds of noises. I could hear all the animals. There were bears, mountain lions, deer, and other animals. They were all in caves in the moun-

[9] It may be of interest to note that he related his experiences in detail each summer during the three seasons in the field. These accounts recorded a year apart agreed in all details.

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tain. After I went to sleep I could hear people at a doctoring. They were down at the foot of the mountain. I could hear their voices and the songs. Then I heard the patient groan. A doctor was singing and doctoring for him. A woman with a sage-brush shoot in her hand danced. She moved around the fire jumping at every step. Each time she jumped she said, "hə', hə', hə'." Then the shaman sprinkled water on the patient with sage-brush. The singing and dancing went on for a long time. Then the singing stopped. The patient had died and the people began to cry.

After a while the rock where I was sleeping began to crack like breaking ice. A man appeared in the crack. He was tall and thin. He had the tail-feather of an eagle in his hand. He said to me, "You are here. You have said the right words. You must do as I tell you. Do that or you will have a hard time. When you doctor, you must follow the instructions that the animals give you. They will tell you how to cure the sickness. I have this feather in my hand. You must get feathers like it. You are also to find the things that go with it. Get dark beads. Put them on the quills of the feathers and tie a strip of buckskin to the quills. Also get a hoof of a deer, and down from the eagle. With these you can go to people to cure them. These are your weapons against sickness. You must get three rolls of tobacco. You can use them to tell your patients what made them sick and then you can cure them. The tobacco will also help you if you are choked with clots of saliva when you suck out the disease. With this you are beginning to be a doctor. You will get your songs when you doctor. The songs are now in a straight line [ready for use]. Bathe in the water at the foot of the cliff and paint yourself with i'bi [white paint]."

Then I woke up. It was daylight. I looked around but I could not see anyone. The man was gone and there was no sign of the animals or the people who had been singing and doctoring. Then I did as the spirit had ordered and waited to become a doctor. In about six years I had received enough instructions to begin to cure.

The success of the power-quest is dependent upon the seeker's undeviating adherence to the traditionally recognized form of procedure. If he does not go to the right place or if he refuses to stay in the cave the entire night, failure will attend his efforts. Also, as in unsolicited dreams, the instructions of the spirits must be carefully followed. Consequently, only those who do not abide by these conditions fail in the quest for power. Several informants related anecdotes of men who were unable to acquire power owing to their failure to follow the correct procedure in the quest.

Happy Dave heard about the cave where power is acquired. He went there, but he did not want to go inside the cave. He tied his horse

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above the cave and made his bed outside. A lizard came to Dave. It ran up one arm and down the other and then up one leg and down the other. Then it went back on the rock. After the lizard went away the wind came up. It blew very hard. Happy Dave heard the owl down by the river. He could hear the owl in spite of the wind. Later the owl came up from the river and talked to Happy Dave. The owl told him that he had not done the right thing and that he was wasting his time. He told Happy Dave that he should go home. He was to go down to the river and bathe and put i'bi [white paint] on the horse. This was to purify both the man and the horse [to prevent the sickness that would result from his improper conduct in relation with supernatural spirits]. Happy Dave told me about his experiences. It happened a long time ago. He is now dead. He never got to be a doctor. (Dick Mahwee)

With some, shamanistic power is inherited from parents or other relatives. This is not to be regarded, however, as inheritance of property in the usual sense of the term. The shaman's outfit, like other personal property at the death of the owner, is invariably destroyed. Commonly the Paviotso manifest a very strong fear of the evil consequences that would surely overtake anyone who retained personal property of the dead. The heir of shamanistic power must have that power bestowed on him in dream-experiences precisely as would any other shaman. Inheritance here is simply a strong tendency on the part of one of the children, or other relatives, of a shaman to acquire power from the same source some time after the shaman's death.

In some cases, the ghost of the deceased shaman appears in the first dream of the heir. In later dreams, the supernatural spirit that actually bestows the power appears and the ghost is no longer seen. This is not always the procedure in inheritance of power however, for the ghost of the dead relative may never appear in the prospective shaman's dreams; only the spirit which confers power comes at these times. The following statements by informants indicate the rôle of inheritance in the acquisition of supernatural power.

Power can be inherited by the son or daughter of a shaman. A son or daughter usually receives the power after a shaman dies, but sometimes a young man or woman may start to doctor while the parent is still alive. When the dreams come to the heir, he must take the power or he will be sick. When a shaman has several children, the power decides which will be a doctor. It may be the son or it may be the daughter

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787 The eldest son does not always get the power. There is no rule, because the power always decides who is to be a shaman. Several doctors here [Pyramid Lake] inherited their powers. One woman has her father's power. She is as strong a doctor as he was. (Dick Mahwee)

In the old days, a shaman before his death did not give away his power. A son or daughter got the power after the shaman died. A few years ago a woman at Walker Lake gave her power to her daughter before she died. I do not think this was done in the old days. (Rosie Plummer)

My father had power from the otter. After he died, I dreamed about the otter and his songs. I never saw my father in my dreams. He did not decide that I would get his power. The otter decided that. Sometimes a shaman can tell before his death which child will inherit the power. One child will talk in his sleep and try to sing. The songs are not plain enough to be understood. Then the doctor knows that the child will have his power after he dies.

When my father was dying, he wanted to give me his doctoring outfit. But I knew about the danger and I did not take it. I knew it would make me sick. If I had taken his outfit he would have wanted his rattle and eagle-feather with him. He [his ghost] would come back to get these things. Then I would have got sick and died. (Joe Green)

Cases of shamanistic power being transmitted to a child while the parent is still alive are also known. In this event, both parent and child are regarded as practising shamans.

Sometimes a man will get his power from his father who is a doctor. Both can doctor at the same time. The father will tell the son how to doctor. When a boy starts going into trances, his father knows that some day his son will be a doctor. A woman can inherit power the same way. (Annie Dick)

One informant, Rosie Plummer, inherited her power from her father. He in turn had been the heir to his brother's power. Her account gives the typical beliefs for this way of acquiring shamanistic power.

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159 When my uncle was dying, he told my father to take his power. He wanted my father to have the power to doctor. He told my father to dream about the power and get instructions for doctoring that way. The next day my uncle died. Soon after that my father began to have dreams. My uncle would appear in these dreams. He came every night in dreams. Each time he came a different way. My father did not like the dreams. He was afraid that his brother was trying to get him away [so he would die]. My uncle, before he died, had given my father a little
[178] piece of lead with a hole in the center. The hole was filled with eagle

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down. My father buried the lead and the eagle down. Then his brother's ghost did not bother him again. That lead and the feathers represented my uncle's power. After that my father became a powerful shaman. His power told him to catch rattlesnakes. They did not bite him. He was told to put sage-brush in his nostrils so the snakes would not hurt him.

Rattlesnake was my uncle's power; then my father had rattlesnake for his power. Now the snake gives me power. Rattlesnake came to my father in dreams. That is how he learned to treat snake-bites. Rattlesnake told him to catch rattlesnakes and take two fangs from each. He was to do this until he had ten fangs. Then he was told to take ten stone beads that were colored like rattlesnake eyes. He strung the beads and the fangs together. He used this string of beads to treat rattlesnake bites. He could also cure people who were sick.

Sometimes my father caught rattlesnakes and put them around his waist. He used to ride home carrying rattlesnakes that way. One time he put a rattlesnake on me. He told me not to move. The snake crawled all over me, but it did not bite. He had rattlesnakes with him all the time.

My father died about twenty years ago. Nearly fifteen years later, when I was about fifty, my father began to come to me in dreams. He brought his power to me. He told me to doctor. I dreamed about him three or four times before I believed that I would doctor. After a while the power started to come to me when I dreamed. Then I stopped dreaming about my father. The rattlesnake told me what to do. The snake helps me doctor now. It comes to me when I dream. Several times it has told me to catch snakes, but I have not done it. This has not yet made me sick.

It is difficult to state what proportion of shamans at any one time have inherited powers. Nearly everyone has or had either close or distant kin with shamanistic power. There seems to be a general feeling that at least one child of a shaman will inherit powers. On the other hand, there is good evidence that in many cases a shaman's powers are lost at death. It also seems evident that inheritance here is but a variation on the theme of acquiring power through dream-experience.

Related to the practice of transferring power before death to the son or daughter is the idea that it can be shared with another. However, when a shaman gives his power to some member of his family, usually that person has already been set apart from others as having a predisposition to acquire power. This is exhibited early in life by dreams and by talking while asleep. Transfer in this

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fashion appears to happen frequently, for it was described by a number of informants who knew of several shamans who had acquired power from a parent during the lifetime of that individual. On the other hand, sharing power with any person not so disposed is not a common practice. Only one incident of transferring power in return for property or other considerations was recorded.

There are, then, three general ways in which the Paviotso may acquire power, but all depend fundamentally upon the same type of experience. In spite of the many opportunities thus afforded for acquiring power, it is evident that relatively few people actually become shamans. The explanation doubtless is to be found in the danger involved in both the acquisition and the use of supernatural power.

Another point that emerges from these accounts is the extreme simplicity of the voluntary power-quest. Essentially, it is little more than the deliberate seeking for the usual dream-experiences accompanied by rather simple tests of the candidate's courage. The long and arduous physical exertions that characterize the Plateau quest and the fasting and self-torture of the search for power on the western Plains are totally unknown to the Paviotso. It is as though the deliberate quest for power here were lightly superimposed upon an older basic pattern in which shamanistic power was derived from dream-experiences alone.

Loss of Power

A shaman is never secure at any time in the possession of his power. Careless treatment of paraphernalia or the flouting of instructions given by the spirits may deprive the shaman of his ability to cure disease. Moreover, careless or malicious acts of others may endanger the shaman's power. If a spectator at a curing ceremony does not carry out the precise requests of the practitioner in handling food, painting the face or body, maintaining silence at specified times during the performance, or other special forms of behavior demanded of those present, harm in the form of failure to effect a cure as well as sickness for the shaman is likely to follow. Frequent instances of illness and loss of power among shamans were attributed by informants to these or similar missteps or to abuses in utilizing the special powers conferred upon these people.

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Power, then, is not benign. When power is acquired, the shaman 756
suffers, and throughout his life he is constantly threatened not 688
only with sickness but with death as well. He is endangered not only by his own acts, but also by either deliberate or thoughtless behavior of others. The shaman, like anybody else, as we shall see later, may become ill as the result of some involuntary act, either of his own or of others.

Paraphernalia

The versions of dreams that have been given contain some indi- 756
cation of the variety of objects with which a shaman must equip 778
himself. A typical kit that is gathered at the behest of the shaman's power contains a rattle (wisábaya), the tail-feathers of the eagle, magpie, or some other bird, down from the same bird, stone, shell, or bone beads, a tubular pipe, wild tobacco, often a peculiarly-shaped stone, and the large hollow wing- or leg-bone of the duck or pelican. The variation in equipment is attributed to the differences in instructions given shamans in the course of their dream-experiences. Some parts of the paraphernalia, however, are standard equipment and are to be found in the possession of all shamans. These include the pipe, tobacco, rattle, beads, feathers and down.[19]

The paraphernalia is kept in a bag made of badger's skin. When the skin of the badger is not available, otter- or weasel-fur, or a piece of buckskin, will serve equally well. This bag or sack is a crude affair. The edges of the untanned skin are simply sewn together, leaving an opening which is not fastened. It is called puhámakɔ^{gwai}odúna. Several informants stated that each part of the paraphernalia is wrapped separately before placing it in the container; probably this practice varies from one shaman to another. The shaman always keeps his paraphernalia with him. At night it [178]
is placed under his pillow, nowadays under the bed. As has been noted, the loss of the kit or any part of the contents results in sickness for the shaman.

There are two kinds of shaman's rattles. One is the jingling deer 756
hooflet type; the other has a drum of dried skin of deer's ears. The 778
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[19] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294, notes that shamans' paraphernalia differ, that some use an eagle-tail, whereas others have a magpie feather and that they use a rattle.

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second type is made by scraping the skin clean of hair, soaking it in water, and sewing together the edges. Sand is packed inside, and the skin is allowed to dry until it is hard and stiff. Then the sand is removed and a handle of greasewood or willow about eight inches long is put through holes made in the center of the two pieces of skin. The handle projects an inch or a little less on one side of the rattle. It is fastened in place firmly with sinew. Small pebbles, usually gathered on an ant-hill, are put into the drum, and the opening is closed. Nowadays, circular pieces of deerskin frequently take the place of the skin from the ears. A variation in this rattle is produced by fastening two containers of pebbles together at one end of the handle, making a double-headed rattle.

The other type, the deer-claw rattle, is similar to the rattle used in girls' adolescence rites by a number of tribes in northern California. Anywhere from fifteen or twenty to fifty or even more deer-claws are used, depending upon the number available. A hole is made in the tip of each hoofiet and a short piece of buckskin thong knotted at one end is put through the hole from the inside. The hoofiet is then fastened by the thong to a willow or greasewood handle. The knot inside the hoofiet prevents the buckskin from pulling through the hole. The claws dangle in a bunch an inch or two from the handle, which is usually eight or ten inches long.

Both types of rattles are known as wisábaya. The choice of the type of rattle to be used by each shaman is dictated by his power.

The tail-feather contained in the shaman's paraphernalia has a piece of buckskin thong about ten inches long tied to the quill. Down is also fastened to the thong and one or two beads of bone, shell or stone are strung on it close to the feathers. When the shaman doctors, the tail-feathers, together with the down and the beads, are fastened by the buckskin to a dressed willow stick three or four feet long. The pointed end of this stick (puhátumadápuipi) is placed in the ground beside the patient's head. The stick may be painted with red or white bands. The design of the painting is revealed to the shaman by his power. A fresh stick is used each time a shaman cures. The particular kind of feathers used by the shaman does not indicate his source of power. A shaman might have power from an animal and keep an eagle-feather in his outfit. In

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fact, eagle-feathers are employed more frequently than those from any other bird. 756 778

Because they are used by nearly all shamans, eagle-feathers are much in demand. Eagles were formerly captured, especially when young, and kept in cages. After the tail-feathers had been plucked several times, the eagle was released; they were never killed. Some informants said that this was because these birds were considered almost sacred, as their feathers played such an important rôle in doctoring. Nests from which eagles were captured were claimed as private property, and were inherited along with land-rights as a family possession.

The shaman's pipe (tɔ̀uc) has a tubular bowl with a wooden stem. Nowadays, however, cigarettes frequently take the place of the pipe and tobacco in shamanistic performances. Consequently, few shamans have pipes. Shamans might also use their pipes for social smoking, passing them around among companions. The shaman's pipe differed in no details from those employed for secular purposes. Both the pipe used in curing and the one used for pleasure are designated by the same term (tɔ̀uc). 756 778 276 [178]

The tobacco (puibámo) is the local wild variety which is smoked both for pleasure and for curing purposes. A shaman usually gathers and dries his tobacco in a secret place far from camp, in order to escape the danger of using tobacco that has been in the presence of menstruating women. It is believed that if a woman in that condition were to touch, or even be near, the tobacco, the shaman's efficacy in curing would be endangered. Similar precautions are also taken with tobacco that is smoked for pleasure. The prepared tobacco is kept in a small sack which is carried in the larger bag with the rest of the paraphernalia. When doctoring, shamans also smoke the various mixtures of tobacco, leaves, and grasses used on social occasions. [841]

In addition to the standard paraphernalia, shamans also have in their outfits other equipment required by their powers, such as bone whistles. The whistles are made from the wing-bones of eagles and other large birds and are four to six inches long. It is a simple hollow tube, without holes, held against the chin with one end at the lower lip. The breath is blown across this end. These in- 756 778 534

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struments are used by some shamans at the beginning of the curing performance in order to call the powers. They are little used today, however, and it is doubtful that they were formerly commonly included with the paraphernalia. It was reported that a shaman uses a whistle only if told to do so by his power. When the whistle is not in use, it is stuffed with feathers.

A bone or wooden tube six to twelve inches in length, used in sucking out the disease, might also be included in the outfit if required by a shaman's spirit. When not in use, such a tube is filled with feathers. Commonly the shaman sucks the cause of disease from the patient by applying his mouth to the part of the body where, according to the diagnosis, the pain is localized. Some shamans, however, suck the disease from the patient through these tubes.

Paraphernalia in excess of the common standard equipment does not give a shaman stronger or even special powers. Nevertheless, unique or unusual additions are not looked upon as nonessential elaborations of the shaman's equipment. Everything in the kit is important and has a meaning, for if only a single feather is missing, the shaman faces sickness and supernatural impotence. All paraphernalia must be carefully preserved and used only in accordance with the instructions received by the shaman in his dreams. When power is secured from several sources, say from several species of birds and animals, each spirit is represented in the shaman's paraphernalia. If part of the outfit is lost or disposed of, the particular power thus offended will cause the shaman to be sick, but he will be deprived of only that part of his power bestowed by the outraged spirit. The shaman may not lose all of his powers through the anger of a single spirit. It is reported that Abraham Mahwee, a shaman at Pyramid Lake, formerly had power from the bear in addition to the powers ascribed to him today. Grieving over the death of his wife a number of years ago, he threw away that part of his paraphernalia which had been collected at the command of the bear. Soon after, he became seriously ill and had to call in another shaman to doctor him. Since his recovery, he has not been able to get the bear to help him in doctoring, although he has not lost the powers given him by other spirits.

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Cause of Disease

The Paviotso attribute disease to supernatural agencies. Minor ailments, however, are recognized and cured by "home remedies." The knowledge of these treatments is even today widespread and is by no means restricted to the professional equipment of the shaman. Therefore, only illness which results from supernatural causes and which requires the exercise of the shaman's power to bring about recovery will be considered here. Many informants made a strong contrast between sickness today and formerly. It is said that before the whites came, the diseases of the present time were not known; that the Indians suffered only from aches and pains which were caused by sorcery, by dreams, or other supernatural causes.

Two concepts of the cause of disease widespread in the primitive world are current among the Paviotso. It is believed that sickness results from the intrusion of a pathogenic tangible object, or again, an individual may die as a result of the loss of his soul.[11] Shamans may also suffer from the breach of tabu, that is, as the result of breaking any of the restrictions which are placed upon them by their powers. Yet these three categories of the causes of disease are somewhat artificial, as the Paviotso do not clearly distinguish among them. According to their notions, sickness results from a dream, and in such cases a shaman may at one time suck out an intrusive object to bring about a cure, whereas on another occasion it may be necessary to return the lost soul of the patient. Again from the point of view of the Paviotso, sorcerers can cause sickness; but here too, both soul loss and intrusive objects are involved. Therefore, it would seem from the point of view of native belief that a more realistic classification of the causes of disease would take into consideration sickness caused by such agents as

[11] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294–295, observes that shamans return the lost soul of patients. Clements, *Primitive Concepts of Disease*, Table I, 194, implies the absence of this belief among the Paviotso. His reference to "disease object intrusion" in Lowie's account (293) applies specifically to the Ute at Ignacio and Navaho Springs, not, as is cited, to the Paviotso. Clements's citation for the concept of soul loss among the Ute on the basis of Lowie's statement on p. 294 is likewise erroneous, as Lowie mentions this belief only for the Paviotso. It seems that in using Lowie's material to determine the distribution of disease concepts in the Great Basin, Clements inferred that if a belief is recorded for the Ute it must exist among the Paviotso and vice versa.

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753 sorcery, dreams, ghosts, and animals, as well as the illness of shamans resulting from mistakes or disobedience either of the practitioner or of others.

753 787 Dreams (nɔsi) are commonly the cause of sickness. That is, the dream itself is directly responsible, not prophetic of, illness. The experiences in such dreams usually are connected with ghosts of the dead or visions of sickness and death. Often the dreamer will not suffer the ill effects of his dream, but a relative or a member of the household is the victim of the illness so caused. These disease-causing dreams seem to be entirely involuntary; one dreams—with no conscious desire to cause harm—that another is, or will be, ill; and shortly thereafter that individual becomes sick. Thus, illness among children is commonly believed to result from the dreams of parents. A father will dream that his child is ill; a few days later [758] the child is stricken and a shaman must be called in. If the shaman is not called very soon after the first manifestation of the sickness, the child will die. Visitors, as well as the parents, may bring about the illness of children as the result of dreams. In the summer of 753 1934, one such incident caused some excitement on the Pyramid 787 Lake Reservation. As several informants reconstructed the affair, 578 the following incidents led to a threat of murder.

> Joe Overall was visiting Rawhide Henry. After they ate at noon, Joe fell asleep at the table. When he woke up he said that he had dreamed about Rawhide's grandchild. He said that in the dream the girl was sick and weak. She was very sick. She was almost dead. The girl's parents told Joe to do something to take away the dream. Otherwise it looked bad for the girl. The girl's mother asked Joe to wash the girl and pray so the dream would go away. He did not want to do it. He told them that she would be all right. In a few hours the girl was sick. They called in a shaman to doctor the girl. The next day Rawhide's family wanted to kill Joe. Joe was a shaman a long time ago, but he lost his power. They think that he may have a little power left and that he used it to make the girl sick.

753 787 The contents of the dreams which result in sickness are varied. A relative may be seen to be ill or dying; voices may speak of sickness, or the dreamer may experience aches and pains. Apparently, in these dreams spirits or ghosts are not seen.

> Dreams about sickness just come natural. There do not seem to be any spirits that cause them. The dream just comes and then soon after you are sick. (Nick Downington)

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People are often sick from dreams. The sickness comes in different ways. One person might see himself sick in his dream. Another person dreams that he sees a shaman coming toward him, or a voice may be heard telling the dreamer to do certain things. Other people dream that a shaman tries to touch them or to give them something. These dreams are bad and make people sick. (Rosie Plummer)

As has been noted, illness may also result from seeing or having other experiences in dreams with a ghost (sa'ab°), either that of a friend, relative, or of a stranger. These dreams also are said to be involuntary. This type of dream-experience is greatly feared as a source of disease. Probably the Paviotso regard dreams as the chief cause of all illness.

In some instances, it may be possible to prevent sickness if the bad effects of the dream can be counteracted before the malady has seriously affected the victim. Upon awakening, if the dream is [782] recalled, the sleeper addresses a prayer to the sun in order to prevent illness. Early in the morning, just as the sun is coming up, the dreamer asks the sun for good health. A typical prayer of this kind is: "Take my bad dream with you. Take away my pains as you go down in the evening. Take them and throw them into the cool water down below." Very often, however, the dreams are not remembered, and sickness results. Only a shaman can then over- 753 come the evil influences of the dream and bring about recovery. 755 The shaman finds in the curing performance that a dream brought 787 on the illness. Then the one who had experienced the dream is forced to recall its content and the time that it occurred. This public confession of the dream is a necessary part of the cure. Until the dreamer admits to the shaman the experiences that caused the sickness, further efforts to bring about a cure are ineffectual.

Ghosts are greatly feared as a source of evil, especially as they 775 cause illness. These dreaded spirits are the souls of dead people. 753 Even among the living, the soul wanders in dreams from its place 774 in the body. The seat of the soul is placed by some in the head and by others in the chest. The soul or spirit is designated by either the term sɔ̈yəp, or numəmugu'°.[12] Frequently these terms are ren-

[12] This is the term that Lowie recorded for the spirit or soul among the Paviotso, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294, 296. It occurs among the Wind River, Lemhi, and Seed Eater Shoshone in practically the same form. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone*, 226; Hoebel, *Shoshone Religion*, ms.

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dered in English by interpreters as "the mind." Also in speaking of the loss of the soul, such expressions as "he lost his mind" or "his mind was gone" are employed. It is believed that when breathing stops, the soul leaves the body. Instead of departing at once for the land of the dead, the souls of the dead may turn into ghosts (sa'ab") and plague the living. The ghost's intentions, however, may not be malicious. It is thought that one may linger near the camp in order to take along the soul of some member of the family of the dead person for company on the journey to the land of the dead. It is said that other ghosts, especially "those of people who were mean during life," may be intentionally malignant. These ghosts often assume the form of animals, especially coyotes, and in such forms appear to the living and cause illness. It is therefore evident that ghosts seen either when awake or in dreams are causes of illness.

It is not thought dangerous for shamans to see or communicate with ghosts. It is said that their powers give them immunity from possible harmful consequences of this contact. The appearance of a ghost to one who is not a shaman is certain to cause immediate and serious illness, unless precautions are taken to counteract their contaminating influence. For example, when a whirlwind in which ghosts travel is seen, dirt is thrown in its direction and it is driven away with these words: "Stay away from me. You are no good. I can see you. I know what you are. You go the other way." However, even this formula will not always succeed in preventing the sickness that frequently follows such an experience. The danger of sickness from ghosts seen in dreams can often be forestalled by prayers directed to the sun as it comes up in the morning.

Sickness caused by ghosts may, in part, be related to the loss of the soul, for, as has been stated, some ghosts attempt to steal souls from the living in order to have the company of loved ones on the journey to the land of the dead. However, all cases of illness resulting from the visits of ghosts are not of this order. Many suffering from such experiences are cured, not by the return of the soul, but by following the instructions which the shaman receives from his powers when he goes into a trance to diagnose the case. Moreover, soul loss is not entirely due to the kidnaping by ghosts of souls of

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the living. Several people are reported to have had their souls restored by shamans when they were thought to have died. In these cases, it is claimed that the soul has strayed, in which case it must be found by the shaman and returned. Another explanation frequently given is that souls start for the land of the dead and that they either loiter along the way or are refused admission at the entrance to the afterworld, where they are told that they are not yet ready to join the dead. In either event, the shaman has the opportunity to find the soul and attempt to induce it to return. The following statement is a generally accepted view of this point. 775 753 774 756

> When anyone dies his soul goes up. All we know about this is what shamans tell. They learn about the way the souls go when they bring back the dead [restore the soul]. After death, a soul stays near the body for a little while. When someone dies suddenly, there is time to get a shaman. If the soul has not gone far, he can bring it back. He goes into a trance to bring back the soul. When the soul has gone a long way to the afterworld, the shaman cannot do anything. It has too much of a start to the land of the dead and he cannot overtake it. (Rosie Plummer)

It is thought that the soul often leaves the body during sleep. When this happens, serious harm will result if the sleeper is suddenly awakened. Shamans are especially subject to this danger. Accordingly, a sleeping shaman is not disturbed. 753 756 774 513

> When anyone dreams, his spirit or soul wanders away. It is dangerous to awaken a person suddenly. His soul may be away doing something. It may be far away. If the person is suddenly awakened, his soul does not get back. He will lose his mind. He will get sick and if a shaman does not doctor very soon, he will die.
>
> When a shaman is asleep, no one is supposed to wake him. If he is awakened, it makes his powers angry. The shaman will lose his mind. Even today, people believe that it is dangerous to go near a sleeping shaman. They might make a noise and awaken him suddenly. Then his powers would take away his mind. (Rosie Plummer)

Other sources of illness, such as that resulting from the acquisition of power, from the loss of paraphernalia, or from carelessness at a doctoring, have been noted in the accounts of other phases of shamanism discussed above. Certain dreams regarded elsewhere as harmful, such as the dreams of blood, are not feared by the Paviotso. 753 756 787

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753 825 It is believed that animals as well as ghosts can bring sickness to man. Apparently, such sickness may result from a deliberate malicious effort as in the case of the coyote; with other animals it may be involuntary or the means of punishment.

> Once a man dreamed that three coyotes came to him. They said, "Tell us who is a good man. We will get him and eat him. If you do not tell us, we will come and eat you." The man believed them, so he told them about a woman. A few days after the man had this dream, the woman was sick. They got a shaman to doctor her. He sang for two nights before he knew what made her sick. Then he saw three coyotes in a cloud. Only the heads could be seen. He saw that they were coming to get the woman. He told the woman's family what the coyote had done. They were coming then. When they came close and saw the shaman, they were afraid. They went away and never bothered the woman again. The shaman told her to put red paint on all her joints. [755] She was to paint red and white bands around her joints. [Treatment in this fashion is customary in curing illness caused by dreams.] Coyote could see that paint when he was a long way off. He did not like it so he never came again. (Joe Green)

Other game animals, especially large game, such as antelope and mountain sheep, can also cause illness. The owl appears, prophetically perhaps, in dreams to bring sickness. Gophers, too are thought to be a sign of sickness and death, but it is doubtful that they cause either. When gophers are caught, they are skinned and the skin is spread over the belly of the carcass. Both are then hung up on the south side of a bush, tree, or house. Gophers may also be [782] burned until only ashes remain. In the course of either operation, a prayer in some such words as these is recited: "You tried to give me bad luck. Now you will be destroyed."

754 Sorcery is an extremely potent source of illness. The sorcerer secures his power from the same sources and in the same way as the shaman who practices for the general good. In fact, to the Paviotso a sorcerer is a shaman who utilizes his power not in the socially accepted way but in a dangerous and anti-social fashion; he has corrupted potentially beneficial power in such a way as to cause harm. The sorcerer is frequently designated by the term for shaman, puhágəm. There is, however, another word for the sorcerer, numətukəd" (eater of people), but the former seems to be more commonly used.

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The sorcerer recites no incantations, nor does he work spells, to 754
overcome his victims. Cast-off clothing, nail-parings, hair-combings, and the images of intended victims, are not used by the sorcerer in causing sickness and death. In fact, none of the techniques usually associated with the practice of either sympathetic or contagious magic is to be found among the Paviotso. Frequently the sorcerer achieves his end simply by concentrating his thoughts on the desired end, the wish for the destruction of the victim by sickness. A sorcerer may also cause illness by touching a person, by handing him food, or giving him a pipe to smoke. The sorcerer does not allow even his victim to become aware of the effort being made to harm him. Discovery of the sorcerer's practices comes only when a shaman is successful in diagnosing the malady of the victim. It is said that sorcerers can cause people either to die suddenly or to suffer a lingering illness.

Often, when sickness results from sorcery, a tangible substance 753
enters the victim's body. That is, in the current categories of such 754
concepts, the sorcerer brings about "disease-object intrusion." These objects are variously described as a small stone, a little black lizard, a worm, insects, a sliver of obsidian, and miniature figures of men, animals, or birds. None of these is thought to have been "shot" into the victim; nor are such objects used in any way to bring about sickness. In the words of one informant, "The sorcerer thinks about a lizard and that is what causes sickness." The sorcerer then simply concentrates on something, and with the assistance of his power it, or its miniature, is injected by some supernatural process into the victim and sickness results. The disease-object must be sucked out in order to bring about the victim's recovery.

Sorcerers appear never to practice their art for material gain or 754
at the request of another. Securing the services of a sorcerer by means of persuasion or bribery to wreak vengeance on an enemy is totally foreign to Paviotso thinking. The sorcerer works in secret entirely for his own ends. At least this is true when he first uses his power for evil purposes. Later, after he has caused the illness and death of a number of people, he is powerless to withstand the impulse to kill. Then his activities become completely involuntary and he is unable to restrain his lust for murder.

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754 After a shaman poisons one person, he cannot stop. When the first victim is dead, he tries to poison others. Then he always wants to make people sick and kill them. (Joe Green)

If he has sufficient power, a shaman who has been the victim of a sorcerer may extract the cause of disease and without the aid of another practitioner cast off the ill effects of his enemy's magic.

As sorcerers are believed to cause so much of the illness afflicting the Paviotso, they are greatly feared. Anyone suspected of sorcery is treated with every respect and consideration in order not to arouse his wrath and ill-will. It is said that any request or demand made by a known sorcerer is never refused out of fear of the revenge that might be taken through witchcraft. Those who fear a particular shaman will, if possible, avoid accepting anything from him or touching his person.

754 683 In aboriginal times, sorcerers were put to death when detected in frequent killings. Their guilt was established then as now, by shamans who determined not only the nature of sickness but also the person responsible. An accusation of this sort by a shaman of standing was probably tantamount to conviction. When a sorcerer claimed several victims, the entire group became concerned and demanded the death of the guilty person. The execution was carried out by several men appointed for the task, or a large number of people fell upon the sorcerer and killed him. The usual practice 766 was to burn the house over the murdered sorcerer; otherwise the body was buried in the usual manner.

If a sorcerer had not become notorious, members of a victim's family might take it upon themselves to avenge the death of a relative. The sorcerer, known to them from the shaman's diagnosis, was stabbed, clubbed, or shot. As in the communal execution, the house was burned with the corpse inside. As far as can be learned, the sorcerer's family rarely attempted retaliation for these murders. In so far as pre-Caucasian conditions can be determined from the memories of living people, it can safely be said that the fear of sorcery was easily the chief source of intra-tribal strife and violence; that the charge of witchcraft more frequently 578 than anything else led to the killing of one Paviotso by another. Suspicion of sorcery is in itself sufficient to endanger social relations and even life.

It should be noted that one informant expressed the belief that all shamans who derive powers from the bear practise sorcery. According to this man, Henry Williams:

> A witch-doctor gets power from a bear. When a person is sick and dreams about a bear or about a man who looks like a bear, he knows that a doctor with that power made him sick. The power from the bear is the strongest of all the powers. A good doctor cannot cure anyone who has been bewitched by a man with bear-power.

This view was only partially confirmed by several informants. Others held that supernatural power derived from the bear carries no more possibility of sorcery than the powers of other spirits.

Shamanistic Doctoring

Curing is the chief function of the Paviotso shaman. It is always a public performance, with spectators participating to a certain extent in the treatment of the sick. These curing practices are the most important ceremonial performances of the shamans. The charming of antelope in the course of communal drives is the only other important public ceremony.[13] The Paviotso shaman gives no mid-winter ceremony to prove or strengthen his power, nor is power acquired in a public performance. Curing, then, is not merely the shamanistic treatment of disease but also an important public ceremony, without doubt the principal religious activity.

There are no public initiations or trials for the new Paviotso shamans. When a shaman feels that he has sufficient power and knowledge to undertake the treatment of patients, he lets it be known. Novices or shamans with newly acquired power usually receive no instruction from older practitioners, the knowledge revealed to them by their powers being sufficient to enable them to cure. Naturally, the shaman is already quite familiar with curing practices from attending the performances of other shamans. However, some of the younger shamans are known to have received training from older doctors, and fathers are said to have

[13] The dances held in connection with the Ghost Dance movements of 1870 and 1890 were not shamanistic performances. There is evidence that the prophets of both movements, with the possible exception of Wovoka, were not shamans (doctors) until after they had ceased to lead dances to bring about the return of the dead. In the minds of the Paviotso, there is no connection between those dances and the shaman's performance.

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instructed sons and daughters in curing practices. It is reported that in some instances when a shaman is invited to treat his first patient, he may ask an older experienced man to help him the first night. The instructor initiates the curing and carries it on for nearly half the night. The younger shaman then takes over the performance and goes on unaided. This is entirely a personal affair between shamans, as there are no organizations or societies of shamans. Usually, instead of mutual interests and aims bringing shamans together, rivalry and jealousy, manifested by attempts to poison one another, are typical of their feelings and behavior.

In curing, each shaman is thought to derive his particular procedure from the supernatural power which directs his efforts. Therefore it seems perfectly consistent to the Paviotso that no two shamans will go through the curing performance in precisely the same way. There is, nevertheless, a general form of procedure followed by all shamans when they treat the sick. The characteristic features of this prevailing plan will first be described.

Curing always takes place at the home of the patient. In winter the mat-covered, dome-shaped house is the scene of the performance; in warm weather the shaman usually performs in the circular brush wind-break which serves as shelter while the family is away from winter quarters. Beyond sweeping the floor, nothing is done to the house in preparation for the arrival of the shaman and spectators.

The family of the sick person decides which shaman is to be called in to doctor. This decision may be made by the patient, if he is able to make his desires known. When the illness is quite serious, a shaman known to have unusually strong powers may be asked to doctor. Shamans of renown may be called in from another band, especially in serious cases, or after the failure of a local practitioner.

Shamanistic curing performances are attended by all who are living conveniently near. No public announcement is made when a shaman is about to cure, but the news of the coming event nevertheless circulates quickly. Often when a shaman is invited in the morning, everyone within walking distance has heard of the coming performance by nightfall. Consequently, a crowd never fails to gather for the curing rites.

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The shamanistic performance is probably best looked upon as a blend of the social and the religious. All who attend participate, at least in a small way, by singing, which is thought to be a powerful aid in establishing contact through the shaman with the supernatural forces. This in turn assists the shaman in gaining control over malignant forces. When Paviotso shamanism was in full swing, these performances, held in a small closely packed house, must have been exciting and impressive. The singing and the shaman's tricks appear to have excited the spectators to a high emotional pitch which was followed by a relaxation of tension attended often by a general feeling of satisfaction when control of the sickness was demonstrated by the return of the soul or the extraction of a disease-object. The social aspect of these gatherings was and is today an important motive for attending. There were occasions during the night for talk and gossip, an opportunity never spurned by the Paviotso. The food provided by the patient's family at midnight also held a strong social appeal, for the religious tensions were largely relaxed for the moment. Finally, in the absence of other important religious ceremonies, these rites were charged with more feeling and emotion than any other type of community gathering.

At the present time, there is little specialization among shamans. In aboriginal times, however, certain types of disorders were treated by shamans known for their ability along special lines. Shamans with power from the rattlesnake were believed to have the greatest power for treating people bitten by that snake. Again, only shamans who derived power from water-babies could treat sickness caused by these beings. Shamans who secured their powers from ghosts specialized in curing those whose illness resulted from experiences with the souls of the dead. Still other forms of specialization in curing seem to depend on the strength of the shaman's power rather than upon its source. Some powerful shamans are believed to be especially efficacious in curing the ill-effects of dreams; others are famous for success in doctoring wounds. On the Pyramid Lake Reservation at the present time, one shaman is well known for assisting women in cases of difficult labor, not because of any particular kind of power, but because of a number of successful cures. As with this man, the renown of shamans as specialists is based entirely on success in treating

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certain types of afflictions. In still another form of illness, soul loss, cures can be made only by shamans who have unusually strong power. Lost souls are restored not by virtue of power from a particular source, but rather by the aid of spirits far stronger than those possessed by the ordinary shamans.

The curing performance usually takes place at night. In case of a wound, a snake-bite, or very serious illness, a shaman may be summoned at any time of the day or night. In this event, the doctoring begins as soon as the shaman arrives. Apparently these emergency treatments take place infrequently. The performance at night which is thought of by the Paviotso as the orthodox form of doctoring is called tunĺku'hu (literally, singing). An emergency treatment which lasts about three hours is known as sɔgɔ́nəbu'ᵘ. The meaning of this term is not known.

It is customary for the shaman to doctor a patient for two nights. Several informants insisted that the treatment must be kept up for this length of time even though the patient shows signs of recovery after the first night. The shaman does not doctor two successive nights, however, but rests one night between the first and second treatments. When a patient is dangerously ill, two shamans may be called in, though usually they do not work together, but alternately. One performs the first night and the other the second, and so on.

A member of the patient's family summons the shaman, usually visiting the shaman at sunrise. The shaman is reserved and aloof during the consultation, slowly smoking his pipe while considering the summoner's invitation. The fee is briefly discussed and agreed upon; it may also be paid at this time. In former days, beads, skins, blankets, and horses were paid for a shaman's services; nowadays the usual fee is three to five dollars. No doubt the shaman's remuneration varies considerably, the better-known practitioners charging even more than the larger sum mentioned.

It is said that shamans who overcharge their patients become ill. The explanation offered is that the shamans' powers determine the fee and if the practitioner asks for more the spirit will be angry and punish the offender. On the other hand, shamans are required by their powers to collect a fee for treating patients; the giving of free services would endanger the life of the shaman.

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The only exception to this rule mentioned by informants is in 756
the case of illness in the shaman's immediate family, where he can treat the sick without exacting a fee and at the same time remain in the good graces of his power.

Shamans may permit their patients to defer payment of the charges for curing. If the debt is not paid in a specified time, however, the shaman will suffer a serious illness. This is believed to be the shaman's penalty for disobeying the injunctions of his power. Consequently, the shaman makes sure that he will be paid, usually demanding the fee in advance. In spite of these precautions, several instances of sickness among shamans, attributed to the failure to pay, were recorded.

Shamans rarely refuse to accept a case. It is generally agreed that shamans are required to treat the sick whenever they are asked. It is said that if a shaman refuses to go, his power will be angry, and sickness and loss of power will result.

When invited to doctor, the shaman asks few questions. He 758
does not inquire about the patient's symptoms, for his power is supposed to help him determine them. Yet he may briefly question the summoner about the patient's actions prior to the illness.

After gravely and quietly considering the request for assistance, the shaman announces that he will doctor that night. Then he directs the preparation of the stick (subínamadábu·inya) which is to be placed upright by the patient's head. The relative who summons the shaman cuts and prepares this stick, which is of willow and is three or four feet long. The shaman takes a feather from his kit (usually the tail-feather of the eagle) which, together with a bone or shell bead and down from the breast of the eagle, is attached by a buckskin thong to the blunt end of the stick. Red and white bands may also be painted on the wand. The precise way in which it is prepared and decorated depends upon the instructions received by the shaman in his dreams. The relative now returns home, and the wand that he has prepared under the direction of the shaman is stuck in the ground beside the patient's head with the feathers and the bead hanging by several inches of string from the top of the stick. During the day the wand may be kept outside the house, but it is taken in and placed by the patient before the doctoring begins.

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755 The shaman arrives after dark, usually about nine o'clock. He
756 is accompanied by his interpreter or "talker," called poínab*.[14]
[46] The interpreter, like the shaman, receives a fee for his services; usually he is paid about half as much as the shaman. His function in the curing rites is to repeat, in a loud clear voice, everything that is said by the shaman. In the curing rites, the shaman mumbles and speaks rapidly in broken snatches. The interpreter sitting at his left listens attentively and repeats the words clearly in order that the spectators may understand. He also follows the songs that the shaman sings, repeating the words loudly to enable the spectators to follow them easily and join in the singing. The interpreter learns only through practice, as he does not have supernatural power to aid him. A shaman always uses the same interpreter, who becomes familiar with his songs and way of talking. Several people stated that formerly the interpreters were not numerous, that shamans outnumbered interpreters. It is also said that in earlier days only men acted in this capacity, but nowadays women also interpret for shamans. One informant asserted that the interpreter also "prays" to the source of the sickness during the course of the curing. According to this statement, before the shaman starts to doctor, the interpreter seats himself by the patient and addresses the "sickness" with some such words as these:

> Our doctor is here. He is a good doctor. He is a strong doctor. You are poisoning this man. This doctor will find out about you. He knows you. Go away and leave this man alone. We do not want him to be sick. Go away and do not come back again. (Joe Green)

This informant stated that later in the performance, when the shaman had diagnosed the cause of illness, the interpreter again prays. This time he addresses the shaman. He might say,

> Cure this man. Make the sickness disappear. Make this man well. Suck out the sickness that is inside him. Show us the sickness that you suck out. Then he will recover.

Other informants did not confirm this function of the interpreter. The general opinion seems to be that the interpreter's duties consist only of repeating the words of the shaman and leading the spectators in singing his songs. Qualifications for this posi-

[14] It may be noted that a chief and the head man of a communal undertaking are also designated by the same term.

tion are a strong clear voice and the strength to continue singing throughout the entire night.

Still another assistant in the shamanistic performance is to be noted. This is the dancer (wütádᵊ). The dancer is always a woman and is said to be of necessity both good-looking and virtuous. She may be either married or single. This performer carries a bowl-shaped basket containing a number of pebbles or beads. This type of rattle (wədákətᵊ) is held close to the front of the body and jerked up and down in time to the dance step. The dancer follows the shaman at a distance of four or five feet when he gets up and dances around the fire in a counter-clockwise direction. Several said that the woman dances only with the shaman, but others stated that he may direct her to continue dancing while he is sucking the patient. The dance step is described as a short, quick jump. The dancer is paid for her services, receiving a fee equivalent to that of the interpreter.

Not all shamans employ dancers to assist in curing. It is difficult at the present time to determine the importance of these performers in the shamanistic performances of former times, but several informants agreed that under aboriginal conditions only a few shamans had women dance for them in the curing rite. The practice seems to have fallen into disuse, for several elderly people said that they had never seen a dancer perform at a doctoring; they had only heard of the custom. Apparently the dancer is always a woman; men never act in this capacity.

The shaman may not begin to doctor as soon as he arrives, for if it is still light he waits until darkness has settled. This means that in the summer the curing does not get under way before ten o'clock, as it is believed to be wrong to treat the sick in the twilight. On the other hand, a bright moon does not interfere with the curing performance. While waiting, the shaman may exchange gossip with spectators, but usually he sits quietly concentrating his thoughts on his power and the cause of the sickness.

When the shaman is ready to start the curing rites, he seats himself by the side of the patient. Moccasins or shoes have been previously removed. I failed to note whether the spectators are also barefoot. There is no general costume worn by shamans. One may be told in his dreams to wear feathers or to decorate his clothing in a particular way.

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clothing in a particular way. Each shaman, therefore, has his own style of dots and lines of red and white paint applied to the face and body. The interpreter is seated usually at the shaman's left; the patient lies with his head to the south. Spectators range themselves along the walls of the house, grouped in several rows if they are numerous. Children are permitted to be present, but are required to be quiet. Only menstruating and pregnant women are excluded. The presence of the former is believed to be particularly dangerous, and no woman shaman in that condition would undertake a cure. It is said that a shaman can quickly detect the presence of a menstruating woman, for as soon as he starts to sing he becomes hoarse and shortly he is unable to talk or sing. He then demands that the guilty woman come forward, and she is required to decorate herself with red paint and to sprinkle some of it around the fire.

As soon as the shaman is seated by the patient, he takes his pipe, rattle, and other paraphernalia from his kit and lays them on the ground before him. Then he begins to sing softly without shaking the rattle. First comes a set of five songs, apparently to call the shaman's spirit helper. The shaman may smoke for a few minutes before he begins to sing, or he may wait until all the spectators are singing before he lights his pipe. When the spectators take up the singing at the beginning of the sixth song, the shaman picks up his rattle and shakes it in time with the singing. As soon as the interpreter hears the first song, he begins to sing loudly, and the spectators join in as rapidly as they learn the song. It is said that spectators know early in the evening whether the shaman is to succeed in curing the patient. If his performance is marked by gusto and enthusiasm, his power is thought to be sufficiently strong to overcome the cause of the illness.

The number of songs and their length vary with different shamans. Some claim that the songs come to them from their powers while they are doctoring and they cannot remember them afterwards. Dick Mahwee said that his songs came to him through the eagle-feather on the stick that is planted by the patient's head. Other shamans assert otherwise, testifying that their songs are derived directly from the powers and that the feather wand does not have any connection with the singing.

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After singing for a time, the shaman gets up and walks or hops slowly around the fire in the center of the room. If he employs a dancer, she follows him around the room each time he makes a circuit. He always moves around the room counter-clockwise. In describing this part of the performances, one informant volunteered the remark, "The whirlwind always moves in that direction too." Unfortunately, I neglected to question others on this point.

When the shaman sits down, he takes up his pipe, already filled by the interpreter, takes several puffs, and then passes it around among the spectators, always in a counter-clockwise direction. Everyone must take one or two whiffs of smoke, the number varying according to the shaman's instructions. The singing continues while the shaman smokes and during the time the pipe is being passed around. If anyone refuses to smoke, the shaman stops the performance until that person can be made to conform to his request. Otherwise the curing will not be successful, and the shaman will suffer from the annoyance of his power. The pipe is usually circulated among the spectators at intervals ranging from half an hour to an hour as long as the curing rite continues, customarily until morning.

The nature of the disease determines to some extent the general plan of procedure. If the patient is unconscious and appears to be dead, it is obvious that he is suffering from soul loss. It is then imperative for the shaman to go into a trance (yáika)[15] as quickly as possible in order to find and return the soul before it has strayed too far. On the other hand, when disease results from other causes, the shaman may go into a trance in order to diagnose the illness and to confer with his power on the treatment. Whether or not the shaman goes into a trance for the latter purposes is said to be dependent upon the strength of his power.

The procedure for entering a trance varies considerably from one practitioner to another, but the following statement will serve to give an outline of generally accepted forms of practice. The shaman who goes into a trance first details five men to catch him as he staggers about the fire singing. They lower him to the ground

[15] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 294, gives the term *mugwamanaq'* for this shamanistic trance. My informants were not familiar with this word.

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755 and when he shows signs of returning to consciousness, they rub
787 his limbs, especially the joints, with the feather wand. If the spirit of the shaman is returning with a lost soul, he can be heard talking with the soul as the spirits approach their respective bodies. When the shaman uses the trance for prognostic purposes, he will not only see the cause of illness but also signs which are interpreted as omens of recovery or of death. A trance of the latter kind was described by Dick Mahwee.

> I smoke before I go into the trance. While I am in the trance no one makes any noise. I go out to see what will happen to the patient. When I see a whirlwind I know that it caused the sickness. If I see the patient walking on grass and flowers it means that he will get well; he will soon be up and walking. When I see the patient among fresh flowers and he picks them it means that he will recover. If the flowers are withered or look as if the frost had killed them, I know that the patient will die. Sometimes in a trance I see the patient walking on the ground. If he leaves footprints I know that he will live, but if there are no tracks, I cannot cure him.
>
> When I am coming back from the trance I sing. I sing louder and louder until I am completely conscious. Then the men lift me to my feet and I go on with the doctoring.

Apparently today few shamans are able to induce a trance state in the curing performance. It is frequently said that in former times, however, shamans commonly went into trances in curative practice. It is now impossible to determine how important a rôle this played in the shamanistic rites of aboriginal days. It should be noted that usually no distinctions are made between those who go into trances and those who do not. Several informants were of the opinion that there was only a difference in degree —those who used the trance were the more powerful shamans.

As soon as the shaman returns to consciousness, he relates his experiences in the trance. The singing is then resumed. If the shaman has found that the sickness is due to the presence of a disease object, at this point in the ceremony he will attempt to extract it by suction. This part of the treatment is shown as nubu'u or as patɔzibúoiid. My notes fail to give any distinction between the two terms.

755 He sucks the part of the body which his diagnosis has shown to be the seat of the pain. Usually he applies his mouth to the

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patient's body, but some shamans use a bone or willow tube 755
through which the disease is sucked. The blood and the cause of disease are sucked out through the unbroken skin, as the shaman never bites or cuts the patient's body. While the shaman is sucking, the interpreter and spectators continue to sing until he signals for them to stop by a vigorous shake of the rattle. The blood that is sucked from the patient is spat into a shallow hole scooped out in the earth floor beside the shaman. A new song is started by the shaman as soon as he spits out the blood. Then the pipe may be passed around again and he walks or dances around the fire several times before he applies himself to the sucking. This procedure is repeated a number of times before the disease-object is extracted.

When the shaman finally draws out the cause of sickness, he exhibits it to the spectators. He shows a pebble, a small black lizard, an insect, or a worm, which he claims caused the illness. The disease-object is then disposed of by putting it in the hole with the bad blood and covering all with dirt. Apparently it is no longer harmful. As far as could be determined, no particular time is specified in the curing rite for the shaman to succeed in sucking out the cause of illness. Singing and smoking are resumed as soon as the shaman disposes of the disease-object.

At about midnight there is an intermission in the curing performance lasting about a half-hour. At this time food provided by the patient's family is passed among the spectators. It is said that the particular kind of food is prescribed by the shaman when he agrees to doctor the patient. The basket containing the food is handed about in a counter-clockwise direction. Some shamans indicate the exact way in which the food may be eaten at this time. Care is taken in handling the food. None should be dropped on the ground or wasted; and the unconsumed left-overs are carefully buried. Usually the shaman does not partake of the midnight meal. He may, however, talk and even joke with the spectators while they are eating.

The shaman brings the ceremony to an end in the morning a little before daylight. Shamans often say that as day approaches their songs come to them very faintly; this is regarded as a signal given by the powers to stop. The shaman then gives the family

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instructions for the care of the patient. He may order the patient painted with simple designs or prescribe special foods. These prescriptions are revealed to the shaman by his power in the course of the curing rites.

When the doctoring is nearly over, some shamans tell the spectators to dance, following him counter-clockwise around the fire. The dancers on this occasion do not clasp hands as in the round dance. Apparently the dance step is simply a walk in time with the songs. The shaman continues to sing the same song for ten or fifteen minutes while the people follow him around the fire. According to one description, at the end of the dance all must shake their clothes, at the same time blowing on their arms. It is believed that an evil spirit causing the sickness is still in the house and these actions drive it away.

The feather wand is left beside the patient's head after the first night of curing. At the end of the second night the shaman removes his feathers and bead. The stick is them disposed of by a member of the patient's family. Usually it is placed under cool water, but it may be put in the heart of a clump of brush where it will be cool and safe from the filth of the coyote and dogs; it is essential that it be a cool place. If either the coyote or dog were to touch the discarded stick, the shaman would suffer sickness and loss of power.

The use of two native paints, red (pi·jəp[1]) and white (i·bi), is very common in curing practices. Both of these paints are secured from natural deposits of earth. The uses to which the paints are put are manifold: the bodies and faces of both shamans and spectators are painted, the patient is sprinkled with the dry powder, and the feathers and the wand used in curing are painted. There are no fixed patterns that determine the way in which the paint is to be used, nor is one color preferred to the other. Either red or white paint, and often both, appears in every phase of the shaman's practice. The use of these paints, however, is by no means confined to curing rites. In daily life these paints are employed for utilitarian as well as ritual purposes, and bodily decoration with these paints is also common on social occasions. Nevertheless, the paints are thought to be very potent in aiding the recovery of the sick.

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It should be mentioned that the sweat-bath is not associated with curing practices among the Paviotso. This is true both of shamanistic curative practices and the ordinary home remedies that are utilized. The Paviotso learned of the sweat-house and its use only recently, and it has never achieved an important place in the culture. Apparently sweating has more religious associations with the Surprise Valley band of the Northern Paiute.[16]

The shaman is not held responsible when the patient dies. His failure is believed to be due either to the stronger power of a sorcerer or to other factors over which he had no control. It is said that nowadays the fee is not returned when the cure is unsuccessful. Apparently the former practice was for the shaman to return the fee if the patient died within a day or two after the treatment. When death occurred at any later time no restitution was made.

Legerdemain is not generally characteristic of the shamanistic performance. Apparently the shamans of today perform no tricks when curing, but several informants recall that in the past some practised sleight-of-hand. One shaman walked around the fire holding a basket on his head. He announced when he sat down, that if pine-nuts were in the basket the patient would recover; if there were no pine-nuts, the patient would die. When he stopped moving about the fire he showed the people that pine-nuts had mysteriously appeared in the basket. Other tricks of a similar nature were performed by a few shamans. No swallowing acts are performed by the shamans.

Several informants reported that some shamans picked up hot coals during the performance. One was known to have taken a hot coal in his mouth. It turned to white paint which he spat into his hands and rubbed on the patient. At one point in the curing performance, another shaman held an iron knife in the fire. When the knife was hot he put it into his mouth and "it sizzled like a hot iron dipped in water." Still another exhibition with fire was given by a shaman to show that he had power to cure. Before he started to sing he thrust a bundle of reeds or brush into the fire. When the ends caught fire he licked them with his tongue. Walking on fire is unknown in Paviotso practice.

[16] Kelly, *Surprise Valley Paiute*, 202–204.

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These few tricks are about the extent of the shaman's legerdemain. It is evident that sleight-of-hand forms no important part of the shaman's stock-in-trade. Moreover, only a few shamans at any time employed such means to demonstrate their powers.

The small number of songs that were recorded have not been analyzed, but several general observations can be made. The words of a shaman's song often refer to the source of power. The songs are short; frequently they are not more than four or five words in length, with meaningless syllables often incorporated. The three shaman's songs published by Gilbert Natches illustrate these points. The songs are short, and mention curing or other attributes of the shaman's power. The words of one song, "the soul pursuing, the person's soul bring back," obviously refer to restoring a soul that has been lost.[17] The words of a single song are repeated as long as the shaman cares to continue, usually ten or fifteen minutes, sometimes even longer.

Shamans claim that they are not familiar with their songs before actually engaging in the performance of the curing rite. As we have seen, songs come to the practitioners from their powers when they are needed and cannot be recalled the next day. In the course of recording songs, three otherwise quite willing informants insisted that they were unable to recall their own songs, although they could remember those of other shamans. Evidently, shamans' songs differ from those sung at the round dance and for the hand-game, although there appears to be little difference in words. A number of informants unhesitatingly identified curing songs when reproduced on the phonograph, but authorship was not always recognized, and property rights in them never.

The following two accounts of shamanistic curing will illustrate several points in the procedure outlined above.

> Jackson Overton's father, Natches Overton, doctored my mother one time. I was sitting with my uncle. Natches smoothed the ground in front of us. Then he drew three circles in a row in the dirt. He said that he wanted a man to take off his shoes and stand with a foot in each of the end circles. My uncle took off his shoes and stood where Natches told him. After a while Natches told him to sit down. Then Natches sang. When he finished his song he told my uncle to scrape

[17] Natches, *Northern Paiute Verbs*, 259.

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away the dirt in the circles. In the dirt of the first two circles he found nothing. In the third he found a small hard object that looked like a piece of copper. It was about the size of a ten-cent piece and there was a hole in the center. Natches then said, "I think this woman will recover." He told them to tie the small object to the top of my mother's head with her hair. He said that she must keep it there for ten days. The next morning she felt better. In seven or eight days she was almost well. On the tenth day she got up and walked. (Joe Green)

Captain Dave was almost dead. His mind was gone. Two shamans were doctoring him. They quit because they could do nothing for him. People brought Bull Tom to doctor Captain Dave. Bull Tom said, "I am going to lie down here. I am going to find him. His mind is already gone. Maybe I cannot find him. I do not know how long he has been gone. Maybe it is too long." Bull Tom was in a trance for a long time. Then he was heard talking softly. He was still a long way off. We heard him say, "Do not be afraid. We are going home. We are going back to your home. We will go from here over to that mountain. Your boy, your daughter, your wife are all there. We are going back and see all of them there. Do not look back. Bad animals are back there. Do not go back; we will be home soon." Then Bull Tom came out of his trance. He told Captain Dave's family to blow on the top of Captain Dave's head. Captain Dave woke up. He recognized all the people around him. Bull Tom turned the doctoring over to the other shamans then. Captain Dave recovered and lived for many years. (Joe Green)

Shamans cure wounds and injuries as well as illness. The treatment is substantially the same for all. Usually shamans suck out arrowheads and bullets. In case of internal injury they draw off the blood which is believed to prevent recovery. Certain shamans, such as Wovoka, are credited with unusually strong powers for curing the injured and the wounded. No particular source of power is associated with this form of practice; such shamans also cure disease. 756 752

War parties are often accompanied by at least one shaman. He takes part in the fighting, and only when hostilities are over does he treat the wounded. The shaman utilizes his power while on the war-path solely for purposes of doctoring. The only exception is the shaman whose power not only enables him to cure but also makes him invulnerable. Invulnerability is occasionally exhibited in peace-times simply to demonstrate the shaman's mastery of supernatural spirits. It is not probable that these public exhibitions were ever very common. 756 726 752

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Fighting and treating the wounded are the shaman's only functions on the war-path. He does not invoke the aid of his powers for the success of the party, nor does he prophesy the outcome of the venture.

Weather-Control and Clairvoyance

Although the shaman's function is chiefly to cure disease, control of the elements, the ability to foretell future events, and the discovery of lost articles, are all within the ability of at least some shamans. Usually shamanistic manipulation of the weather serves no practical need.[18] Often it is simply a means of demonstrating the control of supernatural power. By waving a feather or by singing, shamans may cause the clear sky to become cloudy, the wind to blow, or rain to fall. They can also stop wind and rain or banish the clouds that they have brought. Although the predominant motive in weather-control is this exhibition of power, shamans have been known in the past to manipulate weather for the benefit of the community. This weather-control is chiefly concerned with causing changes in the elements in order to bring about a badly-needed run of fish in the rivers. It is said that fish may be induced to go up the river in the spring by causing the ice to melt or by bringing about a wind that will force them to the mouth of the river. When ice covers the rivers late in the spring, delaying the run of fish from the lakes, a shaman known to have control over the elements is asked to cause warm weather and rain to melt the ice. Only a few shamans, however, have this power.

> During the winter the river was frozen over. The men could not fish. In the spring the people were hungry. There were no fish in the river. There was too much ice. It was cold. The people talked about it. They were talking about asking a certain shaman here (Pyramid Lake) who could help them. He had the power to bring a warm wind that would melt the ice. They sent two or three men to the shaman. They asked him to make the wind blow. The shaman sang and the ice was made to melt. Then the fish started up the river. The people caught many of them. They paid the shaman with fish. Everyone gave him fish. If the

[18] A form of weather-control is practised at the social round dances. While the dancers are moving in a circle a headman, not necessarily one with supernatural power, walks around praying for rain in order to insure abundant wild products.

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shaman asked for beads, skins, or flint when he brought the wind, he would spoil his power. He would lose his power if he did not obey his spirit. (Joe Green)

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Some shamans, but not all, are able to foretell the future. Apparently even among those who are supposed to have the ability to predict future events the power is not frequently exercised. One shaman is reported to have foreseen the coming of the whites, and others have foreseen several serious epidemics.

Sarah Winnemucca mentions the shamans' gift of prophecy. She describes a dream of her father's in which the killing of the Indians by the whites was predicted.[19] Although Sarah does not specifically make a statement about her father's power, there is evidence both in her account and from my field notes that he was a shaman. On still another occasion, future events were revealed to Sarah's brother in a dream. When he awoke from the dream, the people were called together and the prophecy was related.[20]

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All informants denied that shamans exercise their clairvoyant powers either on the warpath or on the eve of the departure of the war-party. In fact, aside from their rôles in treating the wounded and fighting shoulder to shoulder with other men, shamans have no outstanding position in battle or the preparations that precede it. On these occasions, the shaman's position is definitely subordinate to that of the war-leader or chief. This official may, however, owe his position to the possession of supernatural power which makes him invulnerable, hence a daring and fearless fighter, the qualifications for the leader of a war party. In Sarah Winnemucca's account there is a suggestion, not borne out by the above, that shamans previsioned the outcome of battles. At least her father on one occasion and her brother on another foretold from dream experiences the outcome of impending conflicts with the whites.[21]

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In all these clairvoyant revelations, only harmful events such as sickness, warfare, and death are predicted. There is no indication that successful undertakings or happy events are previsioned. This characteristic of Paviotso clairvoyance may be related to

[19] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 14–15.
[20] Ibid., 80.
[21] Ibid., 14, 80.

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the danger and evil inherent in so much of the dream experiences. The clairvoyant detection of theft and the finding of lost or stolen property is within the scope of a few shamans, but as with other non-curing aspects of shamanistic functions, this is not widely practised. Several informants gave anecdotal accounts of these practices, but others seemed to think that such powers were not within the scope of shamanistic activities. Certainly invoking clairvoyant powers to track down a thief or to locate misplaced belongings played only a minor rôle in Paviotso life.

There is no evidence that clairvoyants have power that differs from the supernatural gifts of other shamans. It is more in the nature of a frill added by some shamans to the chief calling, that of curing.

Antelope Shamans

Communal activities play an important rôle in the economic life of the Paviotso. A large share of the meat supply is secured by drives in which a number of individuals participate. There is a stereotyped form of drive for rabbits, for mud hens, and for antelope. A leader or head-man, elected or chosen for each drive, is responsible for the direction of the undertaking.

These communal drives, like every other phase of Paviotso life, are tinged with religious belief and practice. The religious rites that must accompany daily activities are usually extremely simple, consisting of prayers and the observation of omens. The shaman does not take a leading part in these unelaborated practices. With the antelope-drive, however, the case is different, for a shaman directs the activities of all who take part. Moreover, the success of the undertaking is dependent upon a shamanistic performance, which precedes the actual drive.

The shaman who is leader of the drive must have the spirit of the antelope as his source of power. This power is secured in one of the customary ways described previously. Apparently only men are antelope shamans, but in Paviotso theory, women may enjoy this as well as other powers. Shamans with power from the antelope frequently cure, in addition to charming antelope in the communal drive. Other spirits may be invoked in curing practice, but only the antelope spirit is of assistance in charming the animals. An antelope shaman who also treats the sick is known as

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puhágam or tunápuhágam (tuná, antelope; puhágam, shaman). 224
If the antelope-charmer does not have curative powers, this term 756
is not used; in fact there seems to be no word to designate the non-curing antelope shaman.

Almost no one living today has participated in an antelope-drive, as these have not been held for many years. The information that the older people could offer was derived largely from [124]
memories of the conversations and stories of a generation now dead. As might be expected, there are striking differences in the several accounts, but the generalized description given here includes the essential features without the variations in detail included in the versions given by several informants.

The antelope-drive is called by a shaman who has the antelope spirit as power. He first sends out scouts to find a herd of antelope, but if anyone sees a herd he may go to an antelope shaman and tell him where the animals are. Some shamans are said to find the antelope herds simply by dreaming. In the spring, when food supplies are exhausted, there is often a strong public demand for the antelope shaman to exercise his power.

When the herd of antelope has been found, the procedure is first to build a corral of sagebrush-bark rope under the direction of the antelope shaman at a place which he has previously selected. A corral may be used a number of times, but it is the property of the shaman who directed the construction; at least other [423]
shamans make no use of it. When the rope has been prepared beforehand, the corral can be finished in a day. That night a dance is held either at the camp established near by or within the corral. Apparently there is no fixed rule for the length of the dance: several said that it lasts only a few hours, others that it is not over until morning. In the latter event, the dancers go out at daylight to drive in the antelope. During the dance the shaman sings his antelope-songs, goes into a trance, or otherwise performs in order to charm the antelope and make them docile when they are driven into the corral.

Music for the singing and dancing in the charming rite is fre- 224
quently provided by rubbing a rasp made by wrapping a bow- 756
string around a piece of horn. The notched-stick rasp was re- 533
ported by two informants. Several others told of rubbing an arrow

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224 756 [533] across a taut bowstring to provide musical accompaniment for the singing and dancing. The rattles customarily employed in the curing ceremony seem never to be used in charming antelope.

Early in the morning, when the dance is finished, the drive starts. Some people are stationed along the flaring wings of the corral, while others drive the herd between the converging lines into the corral. When the herd is safely inside, the entrance is closed. The participants are stationed around the corral in order to keep the antelope from breaking down the fence. Usually the killing does not take place until the following day. In the meantime, the guards build fires around the corral and keep a careful watch.

On the morning of the next day, a man noted as a runner enters the corral and drives the antelope around within the enclosure for several hours. The runner finally kills a young antelope, which he gives to the antelope shaman. Then the signal is given by the leader of the drive for the killing to begin; the animals are dispatched by hand. Each individual is regarded as the owner of all that he kills. A woman or an older child who does not have the strength to kill an antelope touches one or holds to some part of [422] it until a man can offer assistance. By thus touching or holding an animal, ownership is established.

The first antelope killed as well as those dispatched by his own hands belong to the antelope shaman. He expects no pay nor any share in the animals killed by others as a reward for his services. The heads of all the antelope killed are collected and roasted in communal pits and shared by all; they are not given to the shaman as his fee.

224 237 When the skull has been cleaned of all flesh, the bones, together with the jaw-bone, are hidden in a clump of sagebrush. This is believed to assure the success of future drives. Some informants said that the eyes are tied in pairs and hung on trees or buried in the ground where dogs and coyote cannot get at them. The bladder, si·nup', and a small pear-shaped organ, abui'wi (spleen?), are put into a hole and covered with dirt. The careful disposal of certain parts of the animal is not confined to the antelope-drive. When other large game, such as deer and mountain sheep, are killed, the hunter treats these organs and bones in the same way

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in order to protect his luck for future hunting. Moreover, every part of the carcass must be used, for if any of the flesh is wasted, the antelope will be angry and may not allow themselves to be seen and killed.

Men, women, and childran participate in the antelope-drive. Only women who are pregnant or menstruating are excluded. It is believed that the presence of a woman in either of these conditions causes the antelope to break through the corral fence and escape. Several informants said that the husbands of menstruating and pregnant women were also prohibited from taking part in the drive.

When the antelope shaman calls people together for a drive, he warns them about their behavior. Sexual intercourse among the married is forbidden during the several days required to build the corral. The tabu on sexual relations lasts until the antelope have been slaughtered. It is also forbidden for young people to flirt. People participating in the drive are not supposed to relieve themselves anywhere near the fence of the corral. The loss of any personal property within the corral is believed to weaken the fence; consequently everyone is warned to watch personal possessions carefully. These rules and prohibitions are not in force during the communal hunts held for other game.

Both Sarah Winnemucca and Lowie give details of the antelope drive. In general, the plan of procedure outlined by these writers is similar to that given here. According to Sarah Winnemucca, the antelope-charming lasted for five days, during which people were not to drop anything or stumble over sagebrush, and were to concentrate their thoughts on the antelope.[22] Features in her account unknown to informants today include a definite plan of the camp in which the participants stay, the corral composed only of mounds of stone and sagebrush a hundred yards apart with no fence between, the selection of two men as messengers to the antelope carrying large torches of sagebrush, and the encircling of the herd by the messengers on each of the five days that the performance lasted.[23] The "kind of drum" which is described is

[22] Hopkins, *Life Among the Piutes*, 56.
[23] Ibid., 55–57.

224 The "kind of drum" which is described is
[534] but an elaborately constructed rasp.[24] The skin stuffed with grass around which cord is wound serves as a resonator when the rasp is rubbed with a stick.

One of Lowie's informants describes a drive lasting three days.
[534] The shaman and two assistants wear antelope-heads and paint themselves for a dance. A notched stick is rasped for music. During the ceremony, a shaman goes into a trance and imitates the call of the antelope. When the antelope are surrounded, two or three antelope are killed first and given to the shaman and his assistants.[25]

224 It is clear that the antelope shaman's performance has an im-
756 portant place in the shamanistic complex of the Paviotso. But as has been pointed out, the charming of game through the exercise of the shaman's power is confined entirely to the antelope-drive. The plan of procedure is highly variable, but the basic belief in the control of the antelope by supernatural power is clear. Antelope-charming, then, is the one well-recognized function of the shaman which is not a part of the all-pervading belief in curing. In fact, it is the only important shamanistic performance of the Paviotso that is not heavily charged with beliefs about the cause and control of disease.

The Position of the Shaman in the Social Order

756 At this late date, an assessment of the position of the shaman in Paviotso society is difficult. The social disintegration that has resulted from reservation life has destroyed much of the shaman's
[622] social influence and prestige. Consequently his part in the social fabric and in the daily life of aboriginal times can at best only be inferred.

756 There can be no doubt that the shaman was formerly an influ-
622 ential figure; the stronger his supernatural power the greater his social prestige. Thus the influence that he exerted was by no means confined to religious affairs and activities. A comparison of his social and political authority with that of the chief is, however, difficult, for any weighting of the respective importance of these officials is strange to Paviotso thinking. Certainly, in many in-

[24] Ibid., 56.
[25] Lowie, *Shoshonean Ethnography*, 304-305.

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stances, the two offices are closely linked, as is indicated in the past by the appreciable number of prominent chiefs who also possessed and exercised shamanistic power. Such outstanding chiefs in historical times as both of the famous Winnemuccas, Captain Dave, and others, were known alike for their curative powers and for their ability to influence and lead their tribesmen. There is a suggestion in this and other evidence that a large proportion of the chiefs in pre-Caucasian times had supernatural powers which they used in curing practices. Nevertheless, supernatural experience is not necessary for chieftainship. Influential secular leaders without shamanistic qualifications are recalled, but according to one account "the power helped." 756 622

Not every powerful shaman, on the other hand, became a chief. Although holding no official political office, shamans were frequently consulted on secular affairs, and their opinions were respected. One case will illustrate the influential position of shamans. Wovoka, the leader of the 1890 Ghost Dance movement, was well known in his later years as a shaman with unusually strong power for curing disease. At the same time, his counsel was often sought in other matters. Clearly, he wielded greater influence over the Paviotso than did any of the contemporary chiefs; but in spite of this unofficial recognition and the great prestige that he enjoyed among his people, Wovoka was not looked upon as a chief nor did he ever claim the title. [668]

There can be no doubt that the coming of the whites was responsible for substantially increasing the importance and influence of the chief. This official represented his people in dealings with the aliens, and later under reservation conditions he was given a small stipend and his authority was thereby appreciably enhanced. In aboriginal times, it was unquestionably the shaman who played the more important rôle in the social life. Of course the combined shaman-headman enjoyed perhaps even greater respect and influence than a political figure without supernatural power or a practitioner without chiefly title or office. 756 622 178

The position of the shaman, like that of any other member of Paviotso society, depends entirely upon individual abilities and accomplishments. Although shamanistic power may be inherited, the position and prestige of a powerful shaman are not transmitted to his heirs. 756 554 [424]

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mitted to his heirs. One who inherits power of an outstanding and influential shaman may be only an obscure and indifferent practitioner. It must also be remembered that shamans have no organization or society through which the shaman's religious and social authority may be strengthened and consolidated. The shaman acquires his power, performs his rites, and attains his position only by individual initiative and achievement. Evidence points to a strong rivalry among shamans rather than to common interests and coöperative effort. This leads apparently to jealousies and efforts to overcome rivals by witchcraft.

In daily life the shaman follows the same pursuits as those who are less gifted with supernatural power. The men hunt, fish, and carry on the other usual masculine activities. The women gather seeds, prepare food, and perform similar customary tasks allotted to Paviotso women. The shaman does not use any of the wealth acquired from his shamanistic fees to satisfy his daily needs. The idea of buying and selling food, for example, is totally strange to the Paviotso. Hence a shaman must provide his food, clothing, and shelter by the same efforts that are of major concern in the daily routine of the less supernaturally favored.

The shaman is not excluded from the lighter recreations of his fellow men. To be sure he is somewhat reserved: he does not joke, laugh loudly, or act boisterously. He is usually quiet and serious when in the presence of others. Nevertheless, he joins in the perpetual gambling games, and he is free to take part in the social dances if he so desires.

More than anyone else, shamans have the opportunity to gain wealth. The beads, skins, and horses that are highly prized are acquired from patients. Accumulated wealth is of little value, however. Skins are used for clothing, and consequently shamans are in a position to display somewhat better garments than others, but to the Paviotso way of thinking, the accumulation of extensive resources is not desirable. Food, as has been mentioned, is not a commodity and hence cannot be purchased. Moreover, a large amount of property might at times even be a handicap in the frequent shifting of camp so typical of Paviotso habits. The property that the shaman acquires from his practice can, then, be used chiefly for gambling stakes. Largely because of this popu-

Largely because of this popu- 756
lar form of recreation, economically valuable objects are kept in 556
constant circulation. The shaman, therefore, sets no great store [437]
by a large amount of property, nor can he be characterized as an individual of wealth.

There is no evidence that the shaman's house differs in any 756
detail from the usual habitations. The size of the house depends 342
more on the number of occupants and their care and skill in 554
building, than on social position. The shaman does not decorate his house or otherwise distinguish it with marks or signs of his profession. Feathers, stuffed birds, animals, or other symbols of his power are not put up either outside or inside the dwelling.

There is some reason to believe that the person of the shaman 756
is considered, often in a vague way, somewhat sacred and conse- 554
quently dangerous. The fear of harming a shaman by awakening [774]
him before his wandering soul can return has already been mentioned. In addition to being regarded with awe tinged with fear, the shaman is also treated with respect, which again in part may be due to fear. If a shaman is annoyed by disrespectful behavior, he may practise sorcery against the offender; consequently care is [754]
taken never to offend him. On the other hand, the fear and respect felt for the shamans probably are related in part to the general feeling that there is latent danger in anything connected with supernatural forces.

There is an unformulated belief in the supernatural potency of 756
both the shaman's person and his soul. This attitude is reflected 554
in the testimony of several informants that when shamans die, [746]
clouds gather in the sky, rain falls, or other changes in the weather 821
take place. Another asserted that earthquakes mark a shaman's death. There were other witnesses who denied the existence of such beliefs. According to Paviotso belief, births and deaths among laymen are never accompanied by any changes in the weather.

As the origins of both the 1870 and 1890 Ghost Dance move- 668
ments are traced to the Paviotso, it may be of interest to estimate 792
the position in the society of the various leaders of these movements. Four prophets who announced the imminent return of the dead and held dances to facilitate that event are distinctly remembered today; possibly there were others. At the time that they

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668 792 [787] preached their doctrines, the prophets were not shamans, i.e., they did not have power to cure. But all, of course, had had visionary experiences and, therefore, were apart from normal individuals. Apparently when a messiah declined in favor, because [756] of his inability to bring about the promised resurrection, he acquired power to cure disease. Several of these prophets became powerful doctors in their later years and were much in demand for their curative abilities.

668 792 756 [622] The social position of the prophet is rather difficult to reconstruct on the basis of present conditions alone. Evidence suggests, however, that Ghost Dance leaders did not become chiefs; in fact the vested interests of the chiefs and the well-established shamans were the source of the strongest opposition. In spite of this resistance, the prophets appear to have exerted considerable influence and caused a great flurry of excitement for short periods; then followed a marked decline in public interest when they failed to produce results. At least two prophets later regained much of their earlier prestige through the demonstration of great power in curing. One of these, Wovoka, was a powerful and influential figure among the Paviotso. He was held in high esteem by members of all the bands, and five years after his death, he was spoken of by nearly all Paviotso with admiration and respect. Perhaps some of the influence he enjoyed in later years among his own people can be traced to the demand by other Indians for his advice on religious matters.

Apparently the more important Ghost Dance prophets were at first rebels who made their revolts felt for only a short time. Later when his movement collapsed, the prophet found an acceptable substitute in exploiting the traditional pattern of shamanism. Probably these individuals added something to the old content and interpretation of shamanistic practice and belief. At all events, prophets were clearly respected and their pronouncements considered carefully, for they were people charged with supernatural power, and hence not to be safely ignored or offended.

756 [622] It is evident, then, that the Paviotso shaman enjoys an important and respected position in society. It cannot be said that his influence is greater than the chief's, for often one man is both chief [556] and shaman. Moreover, the shaman has an opportunity to acquire

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wealth, but the social values do not foster the development of a wealthy class. His power, wealth, and position, therefore, do not relieve him of the everyday pursuits in gaining a livelihood. In short, his supernatural power does not offer the opportunity to gain marked economic privileges.

Summary

The Paviotso shamanistic complex is seen to consist of an array of simple beliefs and practices. The dominant idea in shamanism is that of curing diseases; all other aspects are secondary.

Although the chief ceremonial performance of the Paviotso is the curing rite, this is a simple affair with a minimum of public participation. Singing, dancing, and smoking, with occasional crude sleight-of-hand tricks, are combined in a rite definitely lacking in complexity. This constitutes almost the entire ceremonial life of the Paviotso.

In spite of this meager content and marked simplicity of organization, Paviotso practice and belief are striking in several features. The emphasis on involuntary experiences both in acquiring power and in causing disease, the frequent lack of overt acts in the practice of sorcery, and the orientation of nearly all shamanistic ceremony around the control of disease, clearly indicate the focal point of interest in the Paviotso complex.

The important antelope-charming performance is the only exception to this concern of shamanistic activity with control of disease. But even here many beliefs involve those clustering about curing. The antelope shaman acquires power and exercises it in almost the same fashion as the practitioner; often, in fact, both functions are performed by one person.

In many of its aspects Paviotso shamanism may then be regarded as having a basis of generalized simple elements; but in emphasis on particular ideas of disease and curing, in peculiarity of interpretation of certain other traits, and in some novel combinations of practices found widely over western North America, the Paviotso complex presents at least several features that are unique.